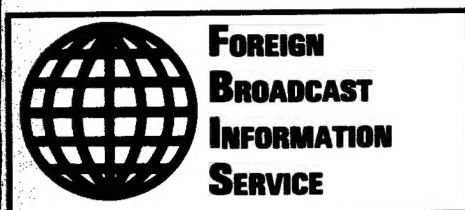


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14 DECEMBER 1989



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Near East & South Asia

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Khaddam Interviewed on al-Ta'if Agreement

90OL0095A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 7 Nov 89 pp 12-15

[Interview with Vice-President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam by Ibrahim Muwwad in Damascus: "We Will Do Everything in Our Power To Implement the al-Ta'if Agreement"; first paragraph is AL-MAJALLAH introduction; date not specified]

[Text] Even if they have not visited it, all Lebanese are familiar with the office of Syrian Vice-President Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam at al-Sabaki Garden in Damascus. The office, with its wide, white sofas, is imprinted in the mind through the press, which seldom fails to publish photos of it on the occasion of visits made by senior officials, members of parliament, leading personalities, party heads, and Lebanese organizations that visit the office regularly. When 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam talks about Lebanon, he gives the impression that he is talking about Syria. One can read in his eyes and facial expressions the pain he feels because of the Lebanese hemorrhage which he has followed stage by stage, for 15 long years. He says with deep conviction: "Lebanon's security is Syria's security and Lebanese-Syrian relations have to be special," expounding on this, as follows:

"The nature of national and strategic relations between the two countries dictates this conclusion. Lebanon's affliction, like it or not, reflects on the Arab nation in general and on Syria and Lebanon in particular. We are one Arab people. We have the same aspirations and the same hopes. What God has created cannot be killed or torn apart by human hands. Moreover, if we look at Lebanon's political, geographic, and human position, we can clearly infer the truth of this statement. Consequently, it was one of the key elements in Lebanon's independence and the establishment of the Lebanese state in 1943 and 1944. We all remember the debates that occurred at the time which took into consideration that Lebanon would not be a center or a passageway for anything detrimental to the Arabs in general and Syria in particular. I do not want to mention here the negative security impact the demographic intertwinement between the two countries has, for we are all aware of this aspect. But I would like to point to a much simpler matter linked not only to Syria's national security, but to Arab national security as well, namely possible Israeli penetration of Lebanon to threaten Syria. This penetration did in fact occur in 1982 when the Israeli enemy crossed into Lebanon to the Lebanese village of Dayr al-'Asha'ir, located 25 kms from Damascus. Furthermore, the Israeli invasion in 1982 compelled Syria to send troops to Lebanon to resist the enemy. These Syrian troops were able, at this point of entry, to stop the Israeli invasion. Hence, our troops that were in Lebanon at the time were deployed for security and not for combat purposes. They are spread throughout Lebanon. Should

the Israeli enemy succeed in spreading its control over Lebanon, it will extend its front with Syria and with real positions that pose a threat to the Syrian flank. Therefore, we cannot look with apathy at such threats and we cannot, under any circumstances, fail to adopt the necessary measures to ward off such a situation.

"All this underscores the logic of mutual security between the two countries, be it in the narrow sense of the term security, or in its universal strategic import, especially since one group has cooperated and is still cooperating with the Israeli enemy, which is a departure from the Lebanese national commitment not to cooperate with the Israeli enemy and a breach of the basic foundation and commitments of the Lebanese state not to allow Lebanon to be a source of threat or concern to Syria. No one can ask us to overlook this matter in any future development aimed at rebuilding Lebanon, restoring its national unity, and setting up its constitutional institutions.

"As for the special relations between the two countries, it is a self-evident truth. We were, still are, and will always be one people. The fact that we live in two different countries does not negate this fact, and I do not have to go back to ancient or modern history on this. Those who want to separate Lebanon from its Arab nation and to trace it back to Phoenicia do not know much history. They ought to know, by simply reading history, that the Phoenicians were Arabs and their state stretched all along the entire Syrian coastline and to some North African countries as well. If they claim to be Phoenicians, Phoenicia went beyond Lebanon to include Syria. Sometimes they talk about Fakr-al-Din al-Ma'ni as a symbol of Lebanese nationalism, being oblivious to the fact that he had Arab affiliation. Lebanon at that time was not an independent state but a part of the Ottoman Empire with boundaries stretching as far as the Syrian interior. If we go back to modern history, we find that Lebanese leaders at that time worked under the Ottoman Empire for Arab and not Lebanese independence. Those who were hanged on 6 May at the same time in Damascus and Beirut were Syrians and Lebanese (from the current Lebanon), Muslims and Christians. Perhaps the mention of Shukri Ghanim, after whom the Fayadiyah Barracks were named, and the status he had in Paris, are enough to underscore the fact that claims of Lebanon's Lebanonism and not its Arabism are false. Shukri Ghanim headed Syrian society and not Lebanese society in Paris. All conferences held in Paris and elsewhere during the Ottoman rule included both Muslims and Christians working for the Arab state and nothing else. If we follow the course of time, we find facts that corroborate beyond a shadow of a doubt the nature and special and distinct character of these relations. The late Rida al-Sulh, the father of Riyadh al-Sulh, was minister of the interior in the Arab government in Damascus. The late Amin al-Hakim, a native of the Kurah in North Lebanon, was a minister in the first Syrian government. A large number of Lebanese officials later succeeded one another in Syria or vice versa. Take George Sahnawi and

Hunayn Sahnawi in the national era for instance. One of them was minister in Syria and the other in Lebanon. Furthermore, the late Amir 'Adil Arslan was minister in Syria and his relative, the late Amir Majid Arslan, was minister in Lebanon. When the late Riyadh al-Sulh was prime minister in Lebanon, the late 'Afif al-Sulh was a National Bloc leader in Syria. The late Shawkat Shuqayr was chief-of-staff of the Syrian army for a long time and General 'Afif al-Bizri was army commander in Syria, not to mention scores of senior officers. In 1941, Bahij Taqi filled the post of prime minister in Syria. Right now there are two deputies, one in Damascus and the other in Beirut. I am referring to Krikor and Melkon Ablifaitan. Mr Edmond Rabbat, a leading scholar in Lebanon today, was a preeminent leader and a member of parliament in Aleppo and later became a member of the Lebanese parliament. I have hundreds of examples. Furthermore, up until 1950 we had the same economic interests, the same customs system, and the same currency. Did all this come from a vacuum or was it based on true and realistic facts? Naturally, I do not want to cite events in Lebanon that underscored this inevitability, the most significant of which was the conference held in 1936 at the home of the late Salim Salam and was attended by the most outstanding political and popular leaders in Lebanon.

"Those who want to recall history but have forgotten its events ought to go back to this conference's minutes and debates."

Before the Syrian vice-president concluded his explanation of what special relations between Syria and Lebanon meant, he mentioned the following incident:

"In 1976, with the outbreak of war in Lebanon, 800,000 Lebanese refugees came to Syria, 200,000 of whom stayed in hotels, but the rest stayed with relatives for months. This underscores the familial bonds between the people of the two countries."

[AL-MAJALLAH] What comments do you have on the agreement the Lebanese deputies reached in al-Ta'if?

[Khaddam] What has been accomplished at the al-Ta'if meetings is very important in bringing an end to the civil war in Lebanon. This requires serious and sincere action on the part of the Lebanese if it is to be implemented, because the national conciliation document constitutes a basis and a framework for rebuilding the Lebanese state and removing the obstacles that have stood in the way of this objective. Syria, at the directions of President Hafiz al-Asad, will do everything in its power to see that the al-Ta'if agreement is put into effect.

All throughout the Lebanese crisis, President al-Asad has been intent on stressing that the only solution to this crisis is via a national conciliation among the Lebanese people. In past years, Syria has made great efforts in this direction. We hope that the national conciliation document will open wide the door to security, peace, and stability in Lebanon, and to the restoration of Lebanon's

national unity and the rebuilding of government institutions in accordance with principles stated in the conciliation document.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But some speak of Syrian designs to annex Lebanon?

[Khaddam] Syria has no intention to annex Lebanon in one way or another. Syria is an advocate of Arab unity and Arab unity is a tenet of the Syrian state and Syrian society. However, Arab unity is one thing and allegations of annexation are something else. We are working for the realization of Arab unity from the ocean to the gulf. Unity may be realized between Syria and another Arab country thousands of miles away before it can be achieved between Syria and Lebanon. This did in fact happen when Syria formed a unity with Egypt, but not with Lebanon. The question of partial or universal Arab unity is tied to objective elements that cannot be side-stepped. I would like to mention here that Patriarch Kamil Sham'un in 1978 presented to us a plan for a confederation which we discussed with him, but did not follow through on because of developments in the eastern area. If there are objective elements that do not allow the Arab unity question to be raised now, this does not preclude the establishment of new and special relations between Syria and Lebanon or between any two Arab countries. Those who make such allegations want to cover up their plans aimed at keeping Lebanon and the Lebanese people in a state of anxiety that is bound to serve Israel.

Here I point out that the late president Elias Sarkis was seeking to improve relations between Syria and the Lebanese Front, especially with the Phalange Party and with Bashir al-Jumayyil who had tightened his grip on the "Lebanese Forces" and the eastern area in particular. And, at the request of President Sarkis, a meeting was held between a Syrian official and Bashir al-Jumayyil. During that meeting, Bashir al-Jumayyil offered to give up vast areas of Lebanon to the Syrian officer, keeping the mountain area and Christian areas in the north and Beirut, if Syria helped him eliminate Walid Junblatt and his group and the Palestinians in Lebanon. Naturally, the Syrian envoy was shocked to hear this offer which he strongly rejected. A few days later I met with Elias Sarkis to present him with Bashir al-Jumayyil's stance. President Sarkis was astounded and turned pale. He summoned one of his senior aides and told him about the matter and asked him to go to Bashir to verify the story. The Lebanese official came back to tell President Sarkis that the offer was indeed made.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But President Sarkis worked to put Bashir al-Jumayyil in the presidency?

[Khaddam] Prior to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Sarkis' policy was governed by the following equation: Relations with Syria will not be relinquished. The interests of the Lebanese Front will not be relinquished and striking at the Palestinian presence in Lebanon will not be sanctioned. All throughout his presidency, he acted on

the basis of this equation. This is what ossified the situation. The invasion created in Lebanon circumstances with which we are all familiar. A small Lebanese group cooperated with the Israeli invasion because it wanted to achieve some gains. The majority of the people rejected the invasion and refused to deal with its consequences. In this kind of situation and as far as I can tell, because I have not seen the late president Elias Sarkis since the Israeli occupation, Sarkis believed that Bashir al-Jumayyil had a part to play in the status quo. This belief may have been spurred by the fact that President Sarkis, with his term coming to an end on the one hand, and amid pressures surrounding him on the other hand, may have felt that putting Bashir al-Jumayyil in the presidency might help achieve Israeli departure from Lebanon. This is only a conclusion which is not based on any tangible facts. But President Sarkis was under much pressure.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Some are demanding an immediate Syrian army withdrawal from Lebanon. Where do you stand on this demand?

[Khaddam] Those who talk about the Syrian army are trying to conceal a basic issue, namely the question of reform in Lebanon. They refuse to consider political reform and, as one of them said: "Either we rule Lebanon or we emigrate to the United States, Canada, and Australia," or, in other words, "We will either be rulers or emigrants." This reveals the nature of the national relationship between the upholders of such beliefs and the homeland. Those who do not cling to the homeland unless they are the rulers are not much different from the South African whites. This is a racist mentality and its time has passed. The Syrian army went into Lebanon with specific goals. First, to protect Lebanon's unity because this unity is a red line and must be preserved; second, to help restore national conciliation to this fraternal house; and third, to deal with threats to Syrian security unearthed by subsequent developments. Going into Lebanon was not a Syrian wish because Syria, without having a single soldier in Lebanon, can find ways whereby the Lebanese people can safeguard their unity. This is what everyone ought to realize. We went into Lebanon because of an almost-unanimous Lebanese desire, an official desire on the part of the then Lebanese government. For in May 1971, President Sulayman Franjiyah and his government asked for Syrian military help to stop the fighting and lift the blockades that were threatening some areas and villages, including Zahlah, al-Qubayyat, 'Andaqat and others. To bolster this demand, a delegation from Zahlah, comprised, as I recall, of all the Zahlah deputies, clergymen and popular leaders, came to Damascus, as did delegations from the Phalange Party, comprised of Pierre al-Jumayyil and his two sons, Amin and Bashir, George Sa'adah, Karim Baqraduni, Joseph Abu-Khalil and Joseph al-Hashim, and from the National Liberal Party, headed by Kamil Sham'un. There were repeated visits by joint delegations from the eastern area.

We went in at the Lebanese government's request and the Lebanese people's appeal for help spearheaded by the people in the eastern sector. But it seems that after we went in and stopped the fighting, some people wanted to use Syria to upset the internal balance to their advantage, to liquidate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, and to strike the Lebanese national forces. When we refused to comply with their wishes, stressing that Syria would not accept the liquidation of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon or the undermining or expulsion of the Palestinian resistance, the campaign against Syria got under way at a time when we were working to effect national conciliation and solve the Lebanese-Palestinian problem and the Lebanese-Lebanese problem. Thereupon, those collaborating with Israel expanded their activities and went public, hence Israel's 1973 invasion of the south and the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Syria did not send its troops into Lebanon to keep them there forever. These troops have other tasks to perform, but they will stay until national conciliation is accomplished in accordance with the document the Arab committee has proposed. In other words, national conciliation and constitutional reforms, as well as Syria's security, will have to be guaranteed. Some may ask what business we have with conciliation and how it relates to our security. Our answer is that a national conciliation government will restore stability to Lebanon so that law and order may be achieved. We adhere to this goal.

Therefore, the matter is linked to national conciliation which constitutes a security guarantee for the Lebanese people and for Syria. Syria supports the provisions of the national conciliation document proposed by the tripartite Arab committee, as they pertain to the special relations between the two countries, because putting these relations in order will benefit Lebanon as well as Syria, or to Syria helping the national conciliation government.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But during their recent presence in the Iranian capital, some Lebanese leaders came out with statements criticizing the al-Ta'if meeting and declaring their rejection of the conciliation document's articles announced by the tripartite Arab committee. How do you explain this matter, given the fact that the leaders in question, and I make special mention of Walid Junblatt and Nabih Birri, are in agreement with Syria?

[Khaddam] As far as I know, the Lebanese national forces support Arab efforts to resolve the Lebanese crisis, but they naturally have their own perspective of what the solution should be. Every organization in Lebanon has its own perspective for a solution. I believe that when the Arab committee arrives at common denominators the Lebanese nationals will support these results. Naturally, it is the common denominators that can guarantee serious political reform and can achieve equality among the Lebanese in rights and duties. We are well aware that the national forces want to achieve national conciliation through a political solution to the Lebanese crisis and this is reassuring. Of course, we must also look at

statements made by the other side which stands opposite the national forces and must follow its actual practices aimed at frustrating national conciliation and blocking an Arab solution.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Some factions are afraid of losing their privileges and have asked for guarantees to safeguard them. What do you think about such fear?

[Khaddam] By analyzing all the events and incidents Lebanon has gone through ever since its independence, one can arrive at the objective conclusion that any country that gives privileges to any one faction over another cannot enjoy stability. Therefore, it is natural that the national conciliation process should lead to the suspension of all forms of privileges and distinctions, thus making the Lebanese people equal in rights and duties, and bound by their interests, aspirations, and hopes to the homeland, and not to the sects. The privileges of which some people speak may have given some individuals or organizations certain advantages, but they brought disaster to broad segments of the population in whose name these privileges are exercised. As for the question of guarantees, it conceals a desire to hold on to these privileges. In a country where some of the people are the vanquishers and some are the vanquished, some are the oppressors and some are the oppressed, no one can give any guarantees to anyone else. The real guarantee is to give up the privileges and build a democratic state. It is unfair to say that the Maronite sect is worried about its fate. These privileges were enjoyed by some and not all members of this sect. Those living in the national areas are no better off than their brothers of the other sects. Privileges of power are enjoyed by the rulers and their entourage. Quite often, such privileges serve the interests of a limited segment of the population that has mustered them to its economic and political advantage. If such people are worried about losing these privileges, what kind of privileges do other citizens of the Sunni sect have? Like other Lebanese, they suffer deprivation and inequality. If the premiership is considered a privilege, what kind of privilege is it and what value does it have if the prime minister lacks the authority to preside over the cabinet or to change or reverse anything within and without the establishment. There are palpable examples of that. All the presidents that have ruled Lebanon turned their own hometowns into capitals. Can you, as a native of Tripoli, Lebanon—the late Rashid Karami was prime minister for a long time—point to any major or minor achievement accomplished in Tripoli through the premiership of its native son. I have been hearing about a Tripoli international fair for a quarter of a century. Was the prime minister able to take a single step in this direction? If we compare government spending in any presidential area with spending in Tripoli, we find that the premiership was not a privilege but merely a protocol status. There is no difference between the prime minister and any of the cabinet ministers except in the protocol ranking.

There are other examples. Premier Sa'ib Salam, and we all know that "Abu-Tamam" is a strong man and a

forefather of Lebanese independence who carries much political and social weight in Lebanon, upon realizing that the commander of the army failed to fulfill his duty in certain incidents in Beirut, asked that the commander be replaced, but the president refused his request and what was the result? The strong and highly influential prime minister had to go and the commander of the army stayed. What kind of privilege is that? Moreover, only one person can be prime minister to enjoy this privilege, but what about the thousands of deprived people in various Lebanese cities and towns?

[AL-MAJALLAH] A number of Sunni leaders have been assassinated in Syrian-controlled areas, most notably the mufti of the republic, Shaykh Hasan Khalid. These incidents have raised a number of questions, so how do you view this issue?

[Khaddam] Yes, assassination did occur in Syrian-controlled areas. We believe that the enemies of national conciliation and the enemies of the peace process were behind these assassinations, goaded by the intelligence services in the eastern area. Such assassinations can happen in Syrian-controlled areas. In Syria, for example, scores of assassinations occurred in 1979 and 1980. In the United States, President John Kennedy was assassinated and an attempt was made on President Reagan's life. Hence, criminal incidents in Syrian-controlled areas can occur just as in any other country.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Is there evidence to back your charge against the aforementioned services?

[Khaddam] I have no information in this regard because I do not keep up with security matters.

[AL-MAJALLAH] One last question. How do you explain the Iranian Revolutionary Guard's entry into Lebanon?

[Khaddam] First of all, their number is no more than 400 elements and they have been in Lebanon since 1982 when Israel invaded Lebanon. We all know that some political organizations in Lebanon maintain relations with Iran and receive aid for their operations against Israel.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Another last question. Have you given General 'Awn any guarantees?

[Khaddam] We have not given guarantees to anyone. The guarantee for any Lebanese citizen is to commit himself to conciliation and stop dreaming.

GCC Ports Coordination Discussed

900L0103A Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ
in Arabic 14 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Halah Kamal-al-Din: "GCC Port Representatives Discuss Unification of Tariff Structures and Designations Aside From Dues Scale, GCC Ports Ready To Confront Enormous Future Development in Size of Containers and Ships"]

[Text] Officials from GCC Gulf Corporation Council] port authorities discussed the region's ports and whether it would be possible to use available capacity and to curb competition to multiply excess capacity that returns no profit to their countries.

Mr 'Abdallah Yusuf, director of the Ports Administration, announced that last Monday representatives of GCC ports debated the possible creation of a unified base to store information and facilitate its exchange. This would be done by standardizing documents in terms of form and information. He indicated that a standardized tonnage declaration to be applied by 1 January 1991 had been approved. A standardized form for information exchange, to be prepared by the General Secretariat, was also approved.

He added that unification of tariff structures and designations had been discussed, so as to standardize them in all ports of the region and to facilitate comparison. Standardization of the dues scale was deemed unlikely because of the difference in the cost and kind of services offered.

He said that one of the most important subjects discussed at the meeting was future container ships and the change of container sizes. He explained that international maritime transport companies are now tending to build larger container transport ships partitioned to carry new container sizes of up to 60 feet, instead of the 20- to 40-foot containers now used.

Mr 'Abdallah Yusuf added that the new ships will reach 300 meters in length and 40 meters in width, and that drafts will reach 14 meters. Ships will carry about 7,000 containers, instead of the current 3,500.

The ports director stated that this change is expected to cause confusion and large losses for Third World countries, because harbors, roads, bridges, railroad cars, and port equipment had been designed to move and transport containers no greater than 50 feet in length and 40 tons in weight.

He stressed the need for Third World countries to keep up with what is new in the maritime transport industry, or else they will find themselves even farther behind than they are now. He indicated that this was not the first time such a development had occurred in the world of maritime transport. It had also happened in the sixties, at which time those countries resorted to changing the wharves of their harbors and replacing most of the equipment involved in transport operations.

On the other hand, he mentioned that Bahrain had not experienced any confusion when container transport operations began to invade Third World ports in the sixties. This was because the Council of Ministers had not followed the view of the consultants who had advised not developing the port of Salman to receive containers; instead, the council had issued a decision to build a container station at the port of Salman.

Regarding the development of the number of containers at the port of Salman from the seventies to the present, Mr 'Abdallah Yusuf said that in 1978 there had been 18,000 containers. In the following year this rose to 25,000, then to 45,000 containers in 1980. In view of this continual increase, pier 14 for conventional goods had been converted into a container pier. He indicated that in 1988 the number of containers had reached the predicted maximum of 120,000.

He said that the Finance Ministry, together with other relevant ministries, was currently engaged in studying the new situation in order to build the future that the finance minister had previously announced. One will thus keep step with new developments in the world of maritime transport.

Strategy for War With Israel Analyzed

90OA0135A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF
in Arabic 6 Oct 89 pp 50-51

[Article by Retired Staff Major General Ahmad 'Abd-al-Halim: "Controlling Israel's Aggressiveness: Limited War Continues To Be Basis in Arab-Israeli Conflict; Intifadah Forced Israel To Abandon Ambitious Military Plans"]

[Text] Creation of the nuclear club from the major powers (the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France, the PRC) and from other regional powers (India, Israel, South Africa) is tantamount to an enormous development. It is, simultaneously, a main security valve that controls all-out wars in the sense of the all-out war that prevailed at the end of World War II. This is what has been termed the "balanced nuclear deterrent."

Consequently, the use of conventional forces has been the predominant feature of military confrontations since 1945. It is doubtful that matters will reach the level of a "nuclear decision," especially in the peripheral regional conflicts in which the superpowers are not participants. This applies to the Middle East region generally and to the Arab-Israeli conflict region in particular, even though it is likely that a local party does possess nuclear weapons.

In the 1973 war, this same logic is what prevented the Israeli command from resorting to "maximum escalation" by using its nuclear capabilities. This is why conventional forces are used in the Middle East region to play the final role in settling regional issues. This use should be coupled with other policies in the psychological, economic, and diplomatic areas.

Another shackle added to Israel's use of nuclear weapons is its geopolitical position which is characterized by smallness of area and by high population and industrial density. Israel is also surrounded by Arab concentrations on all sides. This position will expose Israel to immense dangers if it tries to or if it actually uses nuclear weapons, especially since the Arabs have kept pace with the requirements of the age, since some Arab countries have

acquired surface-to-surface missiles, and since some Arab countries are capable of producing super-conventional weapons.

Shape of Future Wars

The previous analysis of the possibility of the use of nuclear force outlines a general framework of the nature and form of future local wars in the Middle East region. Here are the most significant features of such wars:

- Wars will stop at the conventional war limits within which conventional forces are employed to accomplish the political and military objectives and the armed forces' strategic objectives and tasks.
- The nuclear force which one party may possess will constitute a nuclear deterrent that can be countered with conventional forces possessing extremely sophisticated conventional weapon systems and super-conventional weapons. This situation will establish war limits to which all parties to the armed conflict will adhere. On the other hand, this situation will compel the party possessing the nuclear weapon to stop its military development at limits compatible with its human and economic capabilities. This party will not be able to keep pace with its likely foes if they unite their efforts in a coordinated armament strategy that enhances the sophisticated conventional military force.

The Middle East region falls within the spheres [of influence] of the two superpowers and of the major powers, but is beyond the direct security zones of these powers. This means that in case an armed conflict flares up, it is unlikely that these powers will become directly involved in it. They may participate with the approach of "war by proxy" or by merely supporting the regional parties loyal to them.

Meshed interests will preclude the use of tactical nuclear weapons in the initial phases of these armed conflicts. But the situation may dictate their use in the final stages of a war if the outcome of this war poses a threat to the continued survival of any state possessing such a capability in the region. This may prompt the other states in the region to prepare themselves for the use of such weapons with all the available means.

The Israeli national goals and objectives reflect the objectives of the Zionist scheme and they can be summed up in the following:

- The ambition of geographic expansion and the historical background which the Jewish people embrace and which calls for absorbing the diaspora Jews. This geographic expansion dictates the forceful seizure of territories and the planned settlement of the territories to be seized.
- Development of the aspects of the Jewish people's superiority as a guarantee of the state's survival, denial of the Palestinian identity and presence, Zionist Jewish infiltration of Africa and Asia, and igniting the spirit of hostility to the Arabs.

- Preservation, with the aid of a superpower, of a military strategic balance favoring Israel so as to make up for the elements of political, economic, and military weakness and endeavors to sow inter-Arab division.
- Moving toward a new military strategy based on space, artificial satellites, and antiballistic missiles through technological cooperation with a superpower.

The Israeli military strategy is influenced by the following:

- The currently prevalent inter-Arab relations and their expected development in the near future. These relations may compel Israel to restructure its main strategic assemblies to counter the Arab military force that is growing at a rapid pace to achieve military parity with Israel.
- Termination of the Gulf war and the likelihood that Iraq, with its major military strategic weight or with part of this weight, will return to reinforce the eastern front.
- The proliferation of surface-to-surface missiles that can reach Israel's strategic depth and the likelihood that these missiles will deliver super-conventional weapons to hit strategic targets inside the Jewish state. This poses a definite threat to Israel.
- The continued Arab rejection of the peace process as Israel understands it, especially since Israel declared its aggressive intentions with its theory of boundless geographic security—the raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the strike against the PLO command in Tunis.
- The Palestinian intifadah [uprising] in the occupied territories which has led to a greater international understanding of the Palestinian cause, not to mention the losses suffered by the Israeli economy as a result of the intifadah and the confusion the intifadah has created in the Israeli civilian life in the occupied territories, all of which have drained the Israeli defense system.
- Israel's worsening economic crisis and its impact on a number of ambitious Israeli military plans, such as production of the Lavi aircraft.

Since its creation, Israel has founded its strategy on the principle of "fait accompli," relying on high ability to move and maneuver, to shift the battle to neighboring territories, and to occupy these territories while accomplishing the strategic and political objectives in a short period of time. Mechanized armored forces, air forces, and capabilities to land by air and sea are required to accomplish this because Israel lacks a strategic depth and relies on its deterrent capability while preparing to shift to defensive operations, should the situation require them.

Confrontation Method

The objectives of the Arab defense policy emphasize the concept of a military strategy that must rely on the possession of a "deterrent defense force" capable of

confronting a likely aggression against the pan-Arab security. This policy takes into its account the unstable peace climate in the region, even among some Arab countries, and relies on the Palestinian intifadah as a force added to the Arab military force confronting the foe's conventional force and also added to the capability to confront the likely aggression.

The mainstays of the conventional defensive military strategy must be built on several major foundations, of which the most important are:

- Regarding development of the armed forces, it is necessary to possess a land force capable of defending the state and to intervene effectively to defend the strategic right.
- It is also necessary to possess an air force and an air defense force capable of defending the Arab air space, especially against a devastating nuclear force, and against ballistic surface-to-surface missiles.
- Moreover, it is necessary to possess a naval force and a coastal defense force capable of protecting the coastline, the vital maritime routes, and the strategic coastal targets.
- It is necessary to develop the Arab conventional deterrence force and to establish coordination within this force in order to confront the enemy's growing force. The Arab strategies to confront the likely nuclear threat must be reformulated and reshaped in the medium and long range, if it is impossible to do so in the near future.

The enemy's aggressive nature has not changed to date. This dictates that the military strategy be reformulated to confront this assumption, considering that the idea of a threat continues to exist.

Conventional military strategy is developed to confront conventional war which assumes various forms. There are wars between regular armies and wars in which regular armies confront forces that are predominantly guerrilla forces. Conventional war may assume the form of a war of attrition. The common feature among all these wars is that they are fought with conventional weapons. The nature of the war theater and of the operations theater indicates that the form of war most likely to break out in the region in the future is a limited war between well-armed and well-trained regular armies. However, this does not preclude the likelihood of encountering the other forms of war.

A "military strategic balance" can be achieved by measuring all the armed forces against all the threatening forces.

The necessities of a strategic balance make it clear that it is important to deal with the deficiency in the armament of the land, sea, and air forces. Three methods can be followed to deal with this deficiency:

- Embarking on a conventional arms race with the main threatening force. This dictates increased military spending.

- Combining the regular force with the irregular military force (popular militia). This dictates good and constant preparation in the operations theater and in the border areas. It also dictates that a part of the population density be shifted to these areas so as to provide the irregular forces with real combat capabilities that can be used to establish the conventional balance.
- Keeping up pace with the technologically sophisticated armament systems acquired by the enemy or eliminating the imbalance with alternative means. This approach has its economic cost and its political pitfalls.

To make this strategy complete, the elements of command, of strategic control, and of strategic planning and intelligence agencies must be provided. Expressing the importance of command, control, and strategic planning, Marshal Montgomery said: "Regardless of what happens, we must start at the top. If the organization there is sound, then everything will be sound. But if it is faulty, then this fault will be seen in all the subsequent strata and no progress will be made."

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Abu-Iyad Discusses Baker Plan, Lockerbie

90OL0105A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT
in Arabic 12 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu-Iyad, by Huda al-Husayni: "Abu-Iyad Discusses the 'Nitty Gritty' of Baker's Plan, Shamir's Position; I Am Willing To Chair the Delegation That Will Hold Talks With Israel If the Organization Asks Me To Do So;" first five paragraphs are AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT introduction; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] "We have many questions about Baker's points."

"We do not believe in secret guarantees from the United States."

"The PLO is not something the United States and Israel can use as a stepping stone to peace."

"We will bring up many subjects for discussion, most importantly, our right to have a state."

"The Soviet Union does not oppose a European role."

"We will not use weapons in the intifadah [uprising] no matter how barbaric Israel's methods become."

While he may not be the most prominent Palestinian leader, Salah Khalaf, or Abu-Iyad, is one of the most prominent such leaders. He carries out many secret and sensitive missions, and the popularity he enjoys is wide and broad. It is being said that he is the number two man in Fatah. Sometimes, it is also said that he is the number two man in the PLO.

Salah Khalaf spoke to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT about many subjects. He insisted that the delegation which will hold talks with Israel will be put together by the PLO and that members of that delegation will be selected by the PLO. If that were not going to be the case, discussing talks with Israel would become something like talking about a mirage. Abu-Iyad said he was willing to head the Palestinian delegation that will be involved in open talks. He said that relations with Egypt had been settled, and he spoke of a Palestinian delegation that would be traveling to Syria soon.

Mr Khalaf spoke about the United States, and he said that it was not applying pressure to Israel. He said that U.S. policy stems from a plan of "building for peace" which seeks to turn the PLO into a stepping stone to achieve that peace.

Abu-Iyad defended the Soviet Union's position, and he said that it was Israel which turned down Moscow's invitation to meet with a Palestinian delegation in Moscow. Speaking of Europe, Abu-Iyad said that the PLO wanted Europe to play a role because Europe's role had become more positive since the Madrid Agreement. He spoke especially of Britain's role, and he referred to a French-Arab summit that would be held in Luxembourg. He then condemned the liquidation operations which occur every night in 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp in Sidon.

This is the text of the interview.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What really happened with Egypt? What is the story about the letter you sent to the Egyptian president?

[Abu-Iyad] What letter are you talking about?

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] We heard that you sent a letter.

[Abu-Iyad] I did? Who said that? That is not true because I sent no letters.

But there was a simple misunderstanding with Egypt that had to do with the discussions about U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's plan. The misunderstanding occurred when a statement was issued in Cairo indicating that the PLO was rejecting Baker's points and that it had questions about them. It was our understanding that no agreement had been reached regarding this statement. Eventually, other statements were made, and they led to the misunderstanding which was resolved recently. But matters have been settled with Abu-'Ammar's and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh's recent visits to Egypt, and the misunderstanding has been resolved.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Do you believe that Israel wishes to go back now to Baker's 2 October statement in which he said that Israel, Egypt, and the United States would have to meet to determine how Palestinians are to be represented? Is this what Israel wants now?

[Abu-Iyad] I believe that what Israel wants today, and what it will want tomorrow is a custom made Palestinian

delegation. Israel wants to choose that delegation, and it wants to determine its predisposition as well as its composition. Israel does not recognize the PLO, and it does not want the PLO to play any part in the formation of any Palestinian delegation. Israel does not want the PLO to play any part in naming anyone who will serve on the delegation. That is why we believe that Israel is not serious about the peace process. If it were, it would acknowledge the existence of the PLO and it would recognize that any talks which are to be held must be held with the PLO or with people who are assigned by the PLO to that task. The fact that Israel is rejecting this, however, is evidence that it is not serious.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is this the only evidence that Israel is not serious?

[Abu-Iyad] It is one of a hundred pieces of evidence, but it is an important one.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] It is being said that Shamir's objection to a dialogue with the PLO is due to a domestic problem in the policies of the Likud and that it is not a question of principle. Do you agree with that?

[Abu-Iyad] I believe that Shamir is opposed to real peace. It is true that he is facing pressures within the Likud, but he remains the main figure behind the rejection.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What can be done to do away with his rejection?

[Abu-Iyad] The United States will have to apply real pressure to Israel. It will have to stop its policy of taking sides with Israel and being in favor of everything Israel says. Pressure from the United States is one of the important means by which the equation in Israel can be changed. If that does not happen, however, we, the Arabs, will have to think of how we can change this equation in Israel and in the United States.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] And how can the Arabs change this equation?

[Abu-Iyad] First, we must protect the intifadah and provide it with funds. We must spare no assistance and no support for the intifadah. At the same time we must think how we as Arabs can streamline our political and economic actions for the sake of this battle so that we can come up with some way by means of which the equation in the United States and in Israel can be changed.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] We hear that the United States is putting pressure on Israel to get Israel to agree with the talks and not reject them. We also hear that the United States is trying to convince Israel that the PLO will gradually go out and die after giving these talks the green light. Is this the American plan that you too reject?

[Abu-Iyad] It is obvious that U.S. policy is being pursued on the basis of the plan which came out of the Washington Institute. This plan is the "building for peace" plan which is currently being implemented by the U.S.

administration and the State Department. The book, "Building for Peace," is no longer classified since everything that is mentioned in it is being done by the United States through the State Department's policies. This plan turns the PLO into a stepping stone to be used by the United States and Israel to choose those who would represent the Palestinians and hinder the unity of Palestinians inside the country and abroad. Instead, the two countries are concentrating on relations with ordinary Palestinians who would be used to implement the plan for administrative government. This is what the Americans and Israelis think is the solution to the question, and, unfortunately, it is the truth.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What do you think about what the U.S. secretary of state has proposed? Do you think there is a future for these proposals?

[Abu-Iyad] The proposals have not been presented to us officially. First, they are being presented to Israel. Second, we have many questions about them. When these questions are answered, we will then be able to say clearly what we think of this plan.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What are these questions?

[Abu-Iyad] The most important question is this: Will the PLO make the decision about the Palestinians who will become members of the delegation, or will it be merely a stepping stone that will be used to get Palestinians who do not represent the Palestinian people serving on the delegation?

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is this the only question you have?

[Abu-Iyad] This is the main question. There are other questions about the agenda. Will it be an open agenda? Will there be an international presence at these talks? Will these talks become a new, Palestinian Camp David, or will there be an international presence?

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] If you agree to the Baker plan, will you request written guarantees from the United States?

[Abu-Iyad] We do not believe in secret guarantees, but we do believe in everything that is public. The PLO is to decide who serves on the delegation; the dialogue is to be open; and there is to be an international presence. If we receive a positive response to these matters, the situation would then be comfortable.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] In that case, will you request that changes be made to the Baker plan?

[Abu-Iyad] What we said is that we had questions. You can call them anything you like if we get answers to them.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Who are the Palestinians with whom Israel will talk if talks are held? What are the topics that will be discussed?

[Abu-Iyad] Any Palestinian chosen by the PLO to take part in the talks. Such a Palestinian would thus be considered someone representing the PLO and the Palestinian people. What matters is that he is chosen by the PLO.

Regarding the topics that will be discussed, we are willing to discuss the subject of the elections. Besides that subject, however, there are others which are very important. What is the ultimate solution or the final settlement? We will talk about our national rights and the Palestinian people's rights to determine their destiny and have their own state. These are our topics, the topics we expect to bring up during the talks. And bringing up these topics is normal. Otherwise, why would we hold such talks?

Then we will bring up the question of an international conference. We don't think these talks are an alternative to an international conference, but we do think they pave the way to the international conference.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Would you accept the responsibility of heading the delegation that will hold talks with Israel?

[Abu-Iyad] I would accept it if I am asked by the PLO.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is it possible for the PLO to accept an indirect role in the process of putting the delegation together?

[Abu-Iyad] The problem of whether the PLO will be or will not be represented is the main problem. If it is to be represented, the PLO is supposed to select the members of the delegation and put that delegation together. If the intent is to bypass the organization, such a course of action would be something that we as well as the Palestinian people would reject. I would challenge any Palestinian to go to any Israeli meeting or participate in any Israeli dialogue or Israeli talks which were not approved by the PLO.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Can Palestinians talk with Israel and then announce that they represent the PLO after they are elected?

[Abu-Iyad] We do not oppose elections, as I said, and we are willing to talk about them. But elections by themselves are not enough because that would mean accepting Shamir's plan. Along with the elections we want to talk about what the concept for the ultimate solution is. That would be an integrated deal.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Let us shift now to the Soviet Union. Is it true that the Soviets do not want Europe to play a role in solving the Middle East question? Is it true they are insisting that you accept nothing but a U.S.-Soviet solution?

[Abu-Iyad] I believe the Soviet position is one which supports a European presence. A few days ago we met Gennadiy Gerasimov, assistant to the Soviet minister of foreign affairs. Before meeting him we had met other

Soviet officials. The Soviets are insisting on a European position. It is the United States and Israel that are rejecting the European position.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What about the meeting between a Palestinian official and an Israeli figure for which arrangements had been made by Edward Shevardnadze, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs? This meeting was to be held in Moscow under Soviet supervision, was it not?

[Abu-Iyad] That was an invitation. Shevardnadze had indicated that Moscow was willing to receive a high level Palestinian delegation along with an Israeli delegation, but Israel turned down that invitation.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Has a Palestinian official gone to Moscow?

[Abu-Iyad] No, because Israel rejected the idea in its entirety.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] But we heard that a Palestinian official did go to Moscow for that purpose.

[Abu-Iyad] People are going to Moscow all the time.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The London newspaper, THE INDEPENDENT, mentioned that you received a letter from Abu-Nidal and that he asked for cooperation in that letter. The newspaper reported that Yasir 'Arafat was considering this letter.

[Abu-Iyad] Abu-Nidal issued a statement a few days ago accusing us of assisting the dissidents who broke away from his organization. There are two main dissidents: 'Atif Abu-Bakr and 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Isa. Abu-Nidal is accusing us of encouraging these two individuals to dissent and to break away from his organization. Consequently, we have received no letters from Abu-Nidal.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is it true that you encouraged or assisted the dissidents?

[Abu-Iyad] No, it is not. The statements which Abu-Bakr and 'Isa issued are unequivocal. These are matters we are not responsible for. 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Isa spent approximately 20 years with Abu-Nidal. They have been together since 1969.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What role did Libya play to bring the points of view of the Palestinian organizations closer together?

[Abu-Iyad] I believe that Libya is preoccupied with other things. It seems that it has taken itself out of Palestinian action and has not been involved in such action for over 1 year.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] There is talk in Europe once again about the Pan American airplane which blew up and fell to the ground in Lockerbie. What have your investigations in this case led to?

[Abu-Iyad] There is actually no evidence in this case which one may describe as practical, but there are inferences and analyses. The analysis says that Iran could be behind the operation. But I have no information on that.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Are you still coordinating information with European security agencies, and what do you get in return for the information you provide?

[Abu-Iyad] First of all, the only relationship we have is that which we have with the French. We have no relations with anyone else. Political action is the most important thing we get in return.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Does this mean that you pay a price for the political position that countries would take?

[Abu-Iyad] May God forgive you for that remark!

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Israeli authorities decided to permit Jewish settlers to go into the occupied territories and to engage Palestinians in conflict. What will be your reaction to that?

[Abu-Iyad] This is not the only measure that Israel took. Israel has been restoring and diversifying its brutal methods in the occupied land since early this year. The Israelis come up with a new invention every day. This is not the first time Israeli authorities allow settlers to go into the occupied territories, conduct demonstrations, break into homes, and burn cars. The use of such methods has continued. Our people have been steadfastly resisting the settlers and the Israeli army and using all the power they have to do that. Whether or not the settlers are armed, the army is, and our people are resisting and will continue to resist both the settlers and the army valiantly and bravely.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Are they unarmed?

[Abu-Iyad] We will never use weapons. No matter how hard Israelis try to get us to use weapons, we will not do so.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] You had warned a short time ago that hardliners inside the country could assume command of the intifadah.

[Abu-Iyad] What I said was that the extremist tendency could assume command of the Palestinian people if the U.S. position remains as negative as it has been, and if Israel's position remains unchanged. In such a case Palestinians might become desperate, and extremists and many other things could emerge from such despair. We have always warned against the despair of the Palestinians because despair breeds many things that are alarming and frightening.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] When will you request a high level meeting with the Americans?

[Abu-Iyad] We have been asking for such a meeting since the talks were started. But it seems the Americans want the dialogue, which is to be conducted on the ambassador's level by certain persons under certain conditions, to be timid and quiet. It seems the Americans do not want this dialogue to develop because it seems that matters within the United States are being controlled by deceptive Zionist forces.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Why did you personally agree to meet with the Americans and with the American ambassador if the United States has such an attitude and if it relays to you Israel's wishes and opinions and refuses to consider your opinions?

[Abu-Iyad] The ambassador requested a meeting with me, and I would never refuse to meet with anyone who requests a meeting with us, especially since we do meet with other ambassadors. We meet with the ambassadors of Italy, France, and Austria, and it would be normal for me to meet with the American ambassador. But I did not know that the Americans wanted this relationship to be a secret because as soon as an announcement about the meeting was made, a poisonous atmosphere spread over the United States, and we became terrorists engaged in terrorist operations. The black files started coming out.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] It seems though that no one believes any of these methods.

[Abu-Iyad] These methods worked in the talks. Those who poisoned the atmosphere went to the Congress which issued a decree stating that the president of the United States was to tell the U. S. Congress who was and was not a terrorist so that Congress would not meet with those who are terrorists. They undoubtedly influenced U.S. public opinion.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Were you classified as a terrorist?

[Abu-Iyad] I was first on the list.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Would you agree to meet with the U.S. ambassador if he should request another meeting with you?

[Abu-Iyad] I would because such a request would indicate that the Americans are moving away from that position.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] It is being said that Syria returned some of your property. It is also being said that it returned farm land and one school. Is that true?

[Abu-Iyad] It is not. Our relationship with Syria does not depend on farms. This is the easiest thing in our relationship with Syria with whom we want to have political relations. These relations are more important than the farms and some of the property which was confiscated by the state.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Do you have much property in Syria?

[Abu-Iyad] We have investments. These are ordinary investments, and they are not large.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] You have said from time to time that a delegation would be traveling to Syria, but that has not yet happened. Why not?

[Abu-Iyad] Sometimes Palestinian conditions keep that from happening, and sometimes Syrian conditions do. This time we hope the delegation will arrive as soon as possible.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Will that be soon?

[Abu-Iyad] Very soon.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Will you participate in that delegation?

[Abu-Iyad] No.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The prime minister of Britain asked Israel's leaders last week to understand the Palestinians' fears and needs. She urged Israel to find a way that would safeguard the Palestinians' needs in a manner that is consistent with its own security. How do you view this British position?

[Abu-Iyad] The truth is that the British position developed in a noticeably positive manner after the decisions of the PNC [Palestine National Council] [were announced]. It may be said that in general all the European countries changed their positions. But we are especially satisfied with the British position. Mrs Thatcher's statement and other statements which have been made are part of the positive position.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Does it follow that every request you make will have to be consistent with protecting the security of Israel?

[Abu-Iyad] When we talk about two states, we are supposed to concern ourselves with the security of each. But it is the Palestinian state, not Israel, that wants guarantees, considering the weapons that Israel has stockpiled. Israel and its weapons pose a threat not only to Palestinians, but also to the Arab world and the Third World as well. Israel, which is now involved in the secret war between the superpowers, owns a missile whose range is 1,400 kilometers. The American media revealed the cooperative relationship that Israel has had with South Africa, the most racist state in the world, and that indicates that Israel's role is not just a local one.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What was your reply to the invitation from French President Francois Mitterand to hold an Arab-French summit regarding the Middle East?

[Abu-Iyad] We accepted it. That summit meeting will be held on 20 November in Luxembourg, and we as well as our fellow Arabs will take part in it.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Did the Arab countries agree to that meeting?

[Abu-Iyad] Either an Arab League delegation representing several Arab ministers of foreign affairs will attend the meeting, or the ministers of foreign affairs themselves will attend. I am not sure. But the Arab countries agreed to the meeting which will be held on the 20th of this month.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Will you be discussing a specific plan with the ministers of foreign affairs of France, Spain, and Ireland, who arrived in Tunisia yesterday, or are you expecting them to come up with a proposed plan?

[Abu-Iyad] We will review with them what happened recently with the United States. We will start with Egypt's 10 questions, and we will then review Baker's points and the developments that these points underwent. We will then ask them to continue the European initiative because the countries of Western Europe now have a positive position that is very advanced, especially after the Madrid declaration. That position cannot be compared with the pro-Israeli positions that are taken by the United States. Despite Israel's intransigence and U.S. bias for Israel, we want a European role and the European initiative and we strive for them.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Some Palestinian Americans have attacked the PLO and accused it of not knowing how to deal with the United States.

[Abu-Iyad] At any rate, these people are the PLO's advisers. There would be something wrong between the organization and its advisers when these advisers criticize the PLO's policy. And yet, we are a democracy wherein one opinion would be countered by another. We must accept all criticism. It is my personal observation, however, that much of what Edward Said and Abu-Lughod said should have been said directly to the PLO, especially since they can meet with PLO leaders at any time and tell them their points of view.

At any rate, we are a democracy as I said, and we accept any criticism.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Let us go back to France for a while. The media had stated that a meeting between French, Egyptian, and Palestinian officials would be held in Paris. Then a meeting was held between French and Palestinian officials, but Egypt did not participate. Why was that?

[Abu-Iyad] The person who was supposed to attend and participate in that meeting had other commitments. That is why he did not attend the meeting. This does not mean, however, that the three parties cannot meet in the future.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] We hear about people being physically eliminated every night in 'Ayn al-Hulwah Camp in Sidon. What is going on there?

[Abu-Iyad] What is happening there is that accounts are being settled with those who broke away from Abu-Nidal's organization. Unfortunately, these are actions which discredit us internationally, in the Arab world, and everywhere.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Have there been victims in Fatah itself?

[Abu-Iyad] Whether these victims are from Fatah or some other organization, what matters is that there are victims.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is Fatah in control of the 'Ayn al-Hulwah Camp?

[Abu-Iyad] It is in control. And yet, five persons with rifles can be destructive.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] As far as Lebanon is concerned, do you believe that it is on its way to peace?

[Abu-Iyad] I believe that the al-Ta'if Agreement, which was achieved through the efforts of the Tripartite Committee, is a great agreement as far as the Lebanese people are concerned. It is a great agreement for every Arab who wants Lebanon to be secure, tranquil, and stable. Accordingly, we think the election of a president is a positive step that marks the beginning of the road to a final settlement.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] But the PLO has not yet sent a cable to congratulate the new president.

[Abu-Iyad] We still do not have the address.

[Editor's Note] Abu-Iyad sent a cable to the new president after this interview.

Fatah Central Committee Elects New Members

44000099 Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI'
in Arabic 27 Nov 89 p 6

[Editorial Report] The Palestinian Arabic weekly, Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI', lists the names of the newly-elected Fatah Central Committee members on page 6 of its 27 November 1989 issue:

- Faruq al-Qaddumi (Abu-Lutf), secretary.
- Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu-Mazin), first deputy secretary.
- Hakam Bal'awi, second deputy secretary.
- Khalid al-Hasan (Abu-al-Sa'id), commissioner for information affairs.
- Salah Khalaf (Abu-Iyad), commissioner general for security affairs.
- Muhammad Ghunaym (Abu-Mahir), commissioner for mobilization and organization.
- Salim al-Za'nun (Abu-al-Adib), union activities official.
- Sakhr Habash, studies official.
- Hani al-Hasan, commissioner for foreign relations.
- Intisar al-Wazir (Umm-Jihad), commissioner for social affairs.

- Muhammad Quray' (Abu-'Ala'), secretary for financial affairs.

The Occupied Homeland Affairs Department and Military Affairs Department continue to fall under the Office of the President, Commander-in-Chief Yasir 'Arafat.

The revolutionary council of Fatah, numbering 108 members, elected:

- Yahya 'Ashur (Hamdan), secretary.
- 'Adnan Samarah, first deputy secretary.
- Sakhr Busaysu, second deputy secretary.
- Abu-al-'Abd al-'Akluk, inspector general.
- Jarrar al-Qudwah (Abu-al-Murid), inspector general for financial affairs.

Three appointments within the Central Committee of Fatah are pending.

FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH Analyzes Movement To Rebuild Temple

90OL0096A Nicosia FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH
in Arabic 29 Oct 89 p 13

[Article by Hasan al-Batal: "Jerusalem and Temple Visionaries"]

[Text] Just as the Palestinian political address is void of racial instigation, the appeal the mufti of Jerusalem made during the midday mass prayers at al-Aqsa and 'Umar Mosques on Monday was also void of any religious instigation. Inversely, we find escalating intransigence in the political address delivered by Shamir who resumed talking last week about the divine promise as a support for the policy of the "land belongs entirely to Israel."

The truth is that in the same period, we have noticed gladly how the position of the U.S. and Canadian churches has been moving toward political clarity. Last week, the head of the Catholic Church reflected this development in his call for prayers for Palestine and the Palestinian people.

In the coming days, we will find out how far barbaric Zionism will persist in its dangerous alliance with the rash religious currents that have moved from the phase of countless provocations to the phase of practical steps to ignite the holy city. But it is most likely that this fire will fail to result in an Islamic-Jewish religious war. However, the possibilities of its causing a Zionist-Jewish war are not small.

For years, it has been noticed that secularists have been emigrating from Jerusalem and that, on the other hand, the number and influence of the more radical Jewish religious factions in the city have become so concentrated that advocates of the "state of Judea" have moved from the phase of rabid slogans to the phase of preliminary planning, even of hoarding weapons. The issue is no longer connected with an individual maniac likely to perpetrate the major folly. The radical Jewish groups

demanding demolition of the 2 mosques have grown to 13 in number. Since the beginning of the occupation, seven serious attempts have been made to damage the two mosques.

The eighth attempt has been more crystal in nature. It has included the casting of a silver candelabrum and an abortive demonstration staged in preparation for transporting a 4-ton block to be used as the temple's cornerstone. It has also included announcement of the sighting of red cows between Sweden and West Germany! Beginning reconstruction of the temple is conditional, according to the belief of some of these groups, upon either the reappearance of the Messiah, or the slaughtering and incineration of seven red cows and using their ashes to cleanse the believers, and permitting the entry of the more radical factions into al-Aqsa Mosque to begin building the third temple.

In contrast to the transformation of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem into a center for the radical and aggressive Jewish groups, East Jerusalem has become, according to Israeli claims, the political and intellectual, and even the leadership center of the Palestinian intifadah [uprising]. Israeli radical politicians agree with Jewish fanatics that the side-effect of the occupation authority's endeavor to keep Jerusalem tranquil is that the Palestinians have benefited from this margin whereas Israel, which has not succeeded in convincing the world to reunite Jerusalem under its sovereignty, has completely failed to reunite Jerusalem practically. The fact that two different Palestinian and Israeli [official] times were followed for a time at the beginning of this fall is a proof of this failure.

The fact is that the reasons for the Jewish religious frenzy should not be sought in the purely religious aspect and in isolation from the political-ideological aspect. In this regard, we find that the erosion of the political coalition between the two major parties is, in fact, connected with the different views on the political solution. However, it is more strongly connected with the historical erosion that the secular Zionism, which is represented by the labor parties—led by the Alignment [party]—has suffered in its confrontation with the chauvinistic religious Zionism, which is represented by the Likud. In the bitter race between these two parties to win over the religious parties, the Labor Party has to pay a price that puts it closer to the Likud and the Likud has to pay a price that puts it very close to the National Religious Party [NRP], Torah Observing Sephardim, and Degel Hatora. As a consequence, one finds these religious parties impelled toward another race to win the majority of the votes of the rash religious groups which demand the demolition of al-Aqsa and 'Umar Mosques. This situation explains the return of Shas [Torah Observing Sephardim] Leader Rabbi 'Ovadya Yosef to his initial bases, and his abandonment of the legal religious opinion that Israel may abandon some occupied territories to prevent bloodshed.

Since the intifadah erupted, and thanks to the intifadah's steadfastness and to the PLO's skillful political movement, the entire world has accepted that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the crux of the Arab-Zionist conflict. Consequently, the intifadah is a case of a "national conflict" that must be solved politically in a manner that meets the two conflicting parties' needs. But this conclusion has not pleased Israel's rulers because its logical outcome is the separation of Israel from the occupied territories and the independence of Palestine from Israel.

Secular Zionism has failed twice: once in its national conflict with the Palestinians because it failed in demolishing their nationalism and their pan-Arabism, and another time in containing and taming religious Zionism. This failure is so obvious that it has motivated a prominent Israeli figure to declare that Zionism has died a very early old age. Because force alone is not enough for Israel to settle its conflict with the Palestinians and because the Zionist ideology is so sick, the hour has come for the Jewish groups to exact dual revenge on Zionism and on Palestinian nationalism. It is not without significance that some Israeli editorial writers recall that only very lately did the rabbis generally adopt Zionism as a theory for liberating the Jewish people.

The involuntary alliance between the Zionist nationalists and the religious went through a period of prosperity after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But this alliance has been shaken by the incessant tremor created by the intifadah. Political Zionism seems incapable of accepting a "historical" national "settlement" with the Palestinian people. Religious Zionism is even less capable of accepting such a settlement. This is why the rabbis have viewed with contempt a compromise proposed by a theology professor at Bar-Ilan University—a compromise to the effect that Solomon's Temple can be built far from the Moroccans' Gate and from the al-Aqsa Mosque courtyard. As for the Israeli journalists who remind the radical Jewish groups that the Hagana, not the "rabbis," was one of the foundations of Israel, fewer people listen to them than in the past.

Jerusalem needs anything. But the last thing it needs is further instigation because the existing elements of provocation and instigation are more than enough. The Palestinians are aware of this fact and the appeal of his eminence the mufti reflects this awareness. It has been phrased firmly to defend the rights and to avoid playing a religious tune.

The world, beginning with the political decisionmaking centers and ending with the church's religious decision-making centers, is demanding a solution founded on the creation of the Palestinian people's state. This demand will not retreat but will rather gain strength because building the temple of peace is more important to the world and to its security than the Solomon Temple zealots.

EGYPT

Industry Minister Defends Public Sector in Interview

900A0136A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF
in Arabic 16 Oct 89 pp 36-38

[Interview With Industry Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab, by 'Izzat Nasr; "Industry Minister to ROSE AL-YUSUF: Public Sector Is Not for Sale or Lease; Sector Management Is Not Bad; We Have Not Raised Price of Any Commodity Since Wage Increase; We Were First To Implement Tourism Minister's Policy;" date and place not given]

[Text] [ROSE AL-YUSUF] Mr Minister, despite your repeated assertions that prices of manufactured goods have not been increased since the latest wage increase, we have actually seen a rise in the prices of washers, heaters, and house appliances, just as an example.

['Abd-al-Wahhab] We, as a public sector, do not raise our prices unless by a government decree! We have not issued a decree and, therefore, the public sector prices have not increased. However, the private sector is free and its freedom to price a commodity cannot be curtailed. Our task is to simply control the price pace.

I wish to assert here that we have not come to our offices to raise prices. The issue is not easy. Our principle is to stabilize prices. If reasonable justifications arise for an increase, then the approval of the Policies Committee must be obtained first.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] But some attribute the increase in the public sector prices to the flaw in the management of this sector and to its low productivity.

['Abd-al-Wahhab] There is no flaw as such. The public sector is a part of the Egyptian business sector. This is why it must move with the extreme freedom and flexibility that enable it to make the right decision at the right time without being tied down by some laws, regulations and control procedures. Liberating the public sector and enabling it to enjoy independent decision-making is a goal for which we must all work.

As for the success or failure of the manager of a public sector plant, such success or failure occurs in all parts of the world and is nothing extraordinary.

The public sector management is not bad. This does not mean that we will not improve it in order to increase its yield and efficiency. As to why we do not interfere in the management, the fact is that when a catastrophe is likely, we do intervene before it occurs. If the catastrophe does occur, we still intervene at the right time. If it were not for our intervention, nobody would be aware of the presence of a problem, meaning that if we engaged in a coverup, everybody would be happy!

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] You have stated in one of the newspapers that the press must be truthful insofar as the

Egyptian Dairy Company is concerned and that the company's losses are 39 million pounds, not 80 million pounds.

How do you, Mr Minister, permit a public sector company to lose 39 million pounds?

[Abd-al-Wahhab] I have no power to tell the press "be truthful." It is supposed to be truthful. We have a good relationship with the press. But when faulty figures are reported at times, then the matter must be researched and the truth ascertained. This is why we have been annoyed at times.

The Egyptian Dairy Company is in a good position now. Its losses were halved last year from 14 million pounds to 7 million pounds only.

We believe that when the raw materials are secured and when certain steps are taken in connection with skimmed milk and powdered milk, whose prices have risen from 200 pounds to 4,000 pounds per ton, then the situation will change and the company will be operated economically.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] The condition of the Egyptian Dairy Company has been used as proof by those who support selling the public sector. Is your cure for this company's problem an adequate reply to the calls for selling?

[Abd-al-Wahhab] The entire issue of selling is not at all a subject of discussion. We are not sitting here to discuss selling the public sector. To whom should we sell it? We are sitting here to find out how to correct the sector's performance, how to liberate this sector from its shackles, and how to transform it into a positive economic instrument at the national level. The fact is that no private sector can be created without major projects established by the state. Who in the Egyptian private sector can build an iron and steel plant costing 1.5 billion pounds in this current phase! I assure everybody that I don't have before me at present any case where the cure is to sell the company.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] Mr Minister, there are those who believe that it is possible to implement the tourism minister's policy which calls for letting the workers own shares without inheritance in the industrial sector.

[Abd-al-Wahhab] The party that has done this is the Ministry of Industry, not the Ministry of Tourism. The first company in which this policy has been applied is al-Amiriyah Tire Company, a company that is being set up by the government and a number of banks. The government has supplied us with 40 million pounds representing 30 percent of the capital. The workers will get this part of the shares and repay their cost from the work profits and partly from their wages. The foreign capital is 10 percent. The rest of the capital comes from the banks and the public sector.

It is conditional here that the worker not stop working, either by resigning or due to disability or death. In case

a stoppage occurs, share ownership is transferred to the workers association so that it may award the shares to whoever replaces the worker.

Consequently, the company workers have two objectives: Enable the company to make a profit annually and increase their yield from the shares.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] Mr Minister, a fertilizer company has lost 60 million pounds since relying on a local production component. How could this happen and what can be done to avoid it?

[Abd-al-Wahhab] Do you mean the Phosphate Fertilizer Company?

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] No, al-Nasr Fertilizer Company.

[Abd-al-Wahhab] There are no losses whatsoever in this company, not 60 million, not 1 million, not a thing. Al-Nasr Fertilizer Company is a winning company that makes profits. The losing fertilizer companies are currently the Abu-Za'bal Fertilizer and Chemicals Company and the Finance and Industry Company. These two companies produce phosphate fertilizer and they are losing due to high cost at a time when the prices of their fertilizer products are officially fixed. A committee has been formed to examine this problem.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] But Mr Minister, stopping the importation of a shaft (costing \$24,000) for a machine which compresses urea and produces nitrates at the Talkha Plant is behind the problem of al-Nasr Fertilizer Company and behind the reports about its losses.

[Abd-al-Wahhab] This has not happened and importation of the shaft has not been stopped. But there is a problem with the supplier and another problem in clearing the shaft. Such things occur in every company. But no sane person will stop production just to save \$24,000.

You can interview this company's chairman to learn the whole story. However, I assure you that this company is not losing at all.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] On the other hand, there are cases of obvious commercial cheating in the spareparts of popular cars. How can this happen at a time when officials of the Standard Unification Authority assert that they are performing their role?

[Abd-al-Wahhab] The Standard Unification Authority is performing its role. But it is impossible to imagine that any authority can examine thousands of varieties. However, we want the citizen not to squander his rights and to inform us of any cases he uncovers.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] Mr Minister, how can we improve the production we export to the outside world, considering that foreigners have been complaining of its low quality and poor packaging?

[Abd-al-Wahhab] Our exports have risen from \$400 million to \$900 million. Our main markets are West Europe, Japan, and America. There is very hard competition in these markets. At times, complaints are received from small private sector companies. We confront and deal with them firmly.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] I wish to convey to you another complaint from the owners of small factories concerning the shortage of unprocessed aluminum.

[Abd-al-Wahhab] I met with a number of small factory owners a few days ago and I believe that all problems have actually been solved. We do not allow the big to devour the small.

[ROSE AL-YUSUF] Mr Minister, what about the future of Egypt's industry under the umbrella of the Arab Cooperation Council?

[Abd-al-Wahhab] We have drafted a working program, not a treaty. A working paper presented by the Egyptian delegation stressed that industrial integration is the characteristic of the age and that today's industrial blocs are the future. Working committees are currently discussing this program. A joint data bank will also be set up to gather information on industry in the four member countries after the member countries who have no such banks complete establishing their own data banks.

However, this issue is a long-range issue and not an urgent one. In integration, we will focus on the complex industries and will thus influence production prices.

Conference Discusses Nonimplementation of Court Rulings

900A0127A Cairo LIWA' AL-ISLAM
in Arabic 1 Nov 89 p 33

[Article by Salah 'Abd-al-Maqsud: "Professors of Law, Jurists Say Nonimplementation of Court Rulings Constitutes Rebellion Against the Courts, Disavowal of the Law"]

[Text] A number of judges, prosecutors, and attorneys interested in national issues participated in the conference held in Alexandria for the teaching faculties in Egyptian universities' law schools. Conference participants agreed that nonimplementation of court rulings was one form of political despotism for which the only remedy was sweeping constitutional reform to strengthen the foundations of freedom and restore the rule of law.

The faculty club at Alexandria University selected the conference topic, which dealt with the political and legal aspects of the nonimplementation of court rulings. This topic undoubtedly receives much of the Egyptian public's attention.

The conference, held on 19 October, abounded in research papers and discussions which lasted the whole day. Two sessions were held at the conference, during

which five research papers were discussed and numerous discussions were held, all of which enriched the conference.

Dr Muhammad Kamil 'Ubayd, from the Faculty of Law in Bani Suwayf, presented a paper on the independence of the courts in light of the principle of the separation of powers. In this paper, which received much support, Dr 'Ubayd said that independence can be achieved only under distinct and separate powers after the system of the socialist prosecutor is abolished and state security courts cease to exist. The courts will become independent when ordinary courts become the only places where defendants are tried. Dr 'Ubayd said that martial law had to be repealed because it diminished the authority of the courts. He said martial law should be limited to the military and the establishment of emergency courts should be prohibited. He said the emergency law should be repealed and elections should be supervised by the courts.

Dr Sami Jamal-al-Din, professor at the Faculty of Law of Alexandria University, presented a paper in which he called for the intervention of the Supreme Constitutional Court to end the dispute between the administrative court and the People's Assembly. In his opinion, the announcement of election results by the minister of the interior did not constitute an administrative decree. Instead, that announcement should be made by the People's Assembly. All the conference participants disagreed with him. Dr Muhammad Rif'at, professor at the Faculty of Law of Alexandria University, summarized the opinion of those who disagreed with Dr Sami Jamal-al-Din. He said, "Because the decree announced by the minister of interior does not declare the people's real wishes, it is an erroneous administrative decree, and that is why it would become the subject of hearings at the administrative court."

Dr Muhammad Shar'an, professor at the Faculty of Law of Alexandria University said, "How can the People's Assembly be given judicial powers in addition to its legislative powers? How can the assembly be both a litigant and an arbitrator? How can it be a legislative authority and an executive authority at the same time?"

Dr 'Abd-al-Majid al-Hifnawi, a professor at the Faculty of Law of Cairo University, touched upon the causes of the crisis which the country has been experiencing. He said, "Those who have political power believe that emergency laws guard them and protect the regime. How can we convince them that these laws do not serve their interests? I believe this is our mission now."

Justice Ahmad Makki of the Court of Cassation affirmed emphatically the need to respect and implement court rulings. Justice Hafiz al-Silmi, chief justice of the Alexandria Court of Appeals, said, "We have to emphasize that court rulings must be respected. The office of the public prosecutor releases and acquits defendants, but the minister of interior issues warrants for their arrest. The prosecutor's office decides once again that they

should be released, but the minister promptly has them arrested in accordance with the authority granted to him by the emergency law."

The paper presented by Dr 'Atif al-Banna spoke about the consequences of not implementing court rulings. Dr al-Banna said nonimplementation of court rulings led to the spread of chaos and loss of confidence in the rule of law. Dr al-Banna's paper listed a group of rulings in which defendants were to be released from custody but were not. He said the ruling in favor of resuming publication of AL-DA'WAH Magazine was not implemented. The court also ruled that 78 representatives were entitled to serve in the People's Assembly and that solitary confinement was to be prohibited, but neither one of these rulings was implemented. The paper stated that those in power say that they are waiting for the administrative court to rule on the matter. If the court's judgment is to their liking, they brag about the rule of law, but if it is not, they do not implement the court ruling.

The paper presented by Dr al-Shafi'i Bashir received broad support. It described the nonimplementation of court rulings as a form of denial of justice and called for an effort to carry out fundamental reforms in Egypt's political system. It denounced the arrests which followed the family planning symposium held by the physicians' association, and it mentioned that the court issued four rulings in that regard. In three cases the defendants were convicted, and the president signed the court's decisions, but the defendant was acquitted in one case, and the president did not sign that decision. "Is this not a denial of justice?" asked the paper.

Dr al-Shafi'i said, "Since President Mubarak, using the OAU as a platform, did ask South Africa to release the struggler Mandela, we are demanding from this platform the release of Egyptian detainees."

The paper presented by Dr 'Awwad Muhammad 'Awwad said that the legal justification of what was done by the speaker of the People's Assembly was not merely nonimplementation of court rulings, but it constituted rebellion against the courts and disavowal of the law. "To them, obeying the provisions of the law is a defeat; they do not understand that it is the epitome of victory."

Justice Mahmud Rida linked the responsibility of nonimplementing court rulings to the presidency.

The final communique of the conference affirmed that nonimplementation of court rulings was a grave mistake whose pervasiveness threatens the social system in Egypt with collapse and encourages others to make light of court rulings.

Not only does contempt of court detract from the court's prestige and standing, but it is also a crime punishable by law.

New Cairo University President Views Islamicists

90OA0105A Cairo LIWA' AL-ISLAM
in Arabic Oct 89 pp 44-45

[Interview with Dr Ma'mun Salamah, new president of Cairo University, by Badr Muhammad Badr and 'Amir Shammakh in Cairo; date not given]

[Text] [LIWA' AL-ISLAM] In a statement to a national newspaper you said university means thought and thinking, that is there is no restriction on thought, nor there is censure of views. How far is this principle actually being applied, since we have information that both university professors and students are the target of harassment because of their views or political inclinations?

[Salamah] The implementation of what you have just mentioned is desirable and is my responsibility. So far I have not received information indicating that harassment is actually taking place. Freedom of thought and thinking is also the freedom of expression, on the condition that this does not encroach on the rights of other peoples, because the right of others is protected just as thought and thinking are protected by law.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] We believe that the university administration plays a role in easing tensions between students and University Guard by obliging it to confine itself only to the task to which it is assigned. What is your opinion on the guard's role and what is the cause of its continued provocation of students?

[Salamah] The guard's role in my view is known and clear; it is to preserve installations inside the university and to ensure respect for whoever is on the university campus. Normally, it intervenes only according to direct instructions from the university president. If such provocations happen sometimes and are initiated by the guard, then our duty is to protect our sons, the students. But if they are initiated by our sons, the students, then the guard must be protected.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] The recurring problem every year is that the names of candidates to the student union elections are crossed out for security reasons. What is your attitude this year toward this problem, given the return to school is next month and the elections are imminent?

[Salamah] God willing, there will be no crossing out of names for any reason except for reasons provided for in the candidature process. These are legal reasons concerning conditions governing the candidate personally, such as the need to be active. As for exclusion of candidates for security reasons or for any other reasons that might be fabricated, this, God willing, will not happen.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] Everybody agrees that the present student regulations are unconstitutional because they were issued without consultation with students unions. Last year the minister of education promised to amend

the regulations and submitted new regulations acceptable to everybody to be endorsed by the Higher Council Universities. So far this has not happened. What is your opinion?

[Salamah] If the education minister promised to submit new regulations to the Higher Council for Universities then, if approved by the council, they will be representing the unions' views since the council will not fail to take the students' views into consideration on the grounds that the students are the ones concerned. I believe that it is time for the present students regulations to be amended; it just like all regulations in general. From time to time regulations must reviewed in order to be amended or added so as to be compatible with every stage.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] What is Dr Ma'mun's view of the Islamic trend among professors and students in Cairo University, you being one of those belonging to it?

[Salamah] The Islamic trend need not be discussed. It is appreciated by everybody. But I admire the sound understanding of Islam. It is desirable and it achieves the basic objective of public interest. A religious person generally must be exemplary in dealing with others and basic Islamic tenets must govern all of his behavior.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] A project proposed by the specialized national councils for teaching an Islamic cultural curriculum in universities was published in LIWA' AL-ISLAM's last issue. What is your opinion in this?

[Salamah] This in itself is a good idea. Defining the content of this culture will certainly enhance the student's understanding of Islam. It would constitute a necessary basis for it, whether inside the university or outside it later. All we hope for is that this will be implemented as long as it is in public interest.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] Last year a draft charter for university values was submitted to the Cairo University's board. It aims at enhancing religious awareness and university values among students. Why has it not been implemented so far?

[Salamah] I believe that it will make no difference if it is implemented only on paper while reality is left unchanged. We must first implement it in reality, for there is nothing to stop that. We should set the example which the base will eventually emulate.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] It was recently observed that there is tension between the faculty clubs in general and the Cairo faculty club in particular on one hand and the Ministry of Interior on the other. This went so far as threats being made by the ministry to arrest certain teachers. What is Dr Ma'mun's role in ending this tension?

[Salamah] My role, God willing, will be to contain and end every dispute with persuasion, reasoning, and conciliation because resorting to a tug of war and demanding rights in an atmosphere of anger cannot bring about good

results. But our role is to implement the principle of "promoting good will". If some people adopted this principle and yet it led to no good results, it is undoubtedly because there is something wrong with the implementation.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] We have heard that two law faculty students were arrested about a month ago and have not yet been released. What role is the university president playing in order to release them?

[Salamah] So far I have not been informed of this. We, God willing, will take steps to find out the cause of arrest while providing the necessary defense arrangements, as well as settling the matter in a manner that would attain the interests of the students and the reassurance of the responsible authorities.

Islamic Student Leaders Allege Arrests, Abuse

900A0126B Cairo LIWA' AL-ISLAM
in Arabic 1 Nov 89 pp 33-36

[Article by 'Adil al-Ansari: "Hot Beginning at Egypt's Universities; Students Arrested, Welcome Signs Torn and Union Members' Homes Stormed by Night; Activities of Student Unions Suspended and Guard Given Powers To Pursue and Arrest Students"]

[Text] At the Science College of 'Ayn Shams University, Ashraf al-Najjar, the union chairman, said: Studies at the Science College began one week earlier than the other colleges. The union began, as it habitually does every year, to hang welcome and instruction signs for new students. But we were surprised by the dawn visitors storming our homes. They arrested me and Hani Salah, al-Ahl family rapporteur, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Fattah, a member of the college union, and Muhammad 'Ali Hasan, a participant in the activity. We were detained at the police station for 3 days with criminals and drug dealers. We were then taken to Abu-Za'bal Prison where we spent 9 days for no reason.

Ashraf al-Najjar added: The college dean and the university president made commendable efforts for our release. The chairman of 'Ayn Shams University's Science College Union has asserted that his arrest, along with his colleagues, is tantamount to a warning to all the students in the other colleges.

At al-Minufiyah University's Education College, the student union began to hang welcome signs on the occasion of the start of the academic year, and student activity took its legal course with the approval of the college administration, the sole authority in charge of this activity. But the university guard removed and ripped up the signs. When the students protested, they were surprised by the police forces surrounding their homes after midnight and arresting three of them.

At al-Minya University, Ahmad Mustafa, the university student union chairman, said that security restrictions

reached the point of prohibiting students of other colleges from entering his college even if these colleges are within the university campus!

Ahmad Mustafa added: I, in my capacity as chairman of the university student union, was kept from the university's other colleges outside the university campus. What is more, the university guard tried to pressure me to write a statement saying that I would not enter the college or study in it but I refused. So they put strong pressure on me to make me say that I would not make speeches at the college or in its halls.

The union chairman asserted that the scope of security harassment is no longer confined to the colleges and that it has expanded to include the university towns. While applying for accommodation at the university town, one student was carrying an Islamic book and another an Islamic magazine. When the coordination department became aware of this, the two students were excluded from the town. From the start, they prevented the enrollment of student with Islamic tendencies, despite their high grade averages.

'Isam al-Nashshar, a student at the Physical Education College (al-Minya University), has said: The decision to prohibit a student from entering any of his university colleges is strange and extraordinary. In the context of interconnected specializations in the modern age, it is very normal for a student to resort to the library of another college either to seek general education or because of the natural overlapping of sciences.

Paralyzed Activity

At Hulwan University, Ahmad al-Fuli, the union deputy chairman, said that all union activities have been banned and that the union has reached the point of total paralysis. The university guard subject the union members to extreme harassment and do not permit them to engage in any activity on the college campus. Even when union members are allowed to engage in limited activities, no financial allocations are made for such activities. This is an open violation of the student constitution.

Ahmad al-Fuli added: The harassment has reached the university towns where any students with an Islamic tendency are excluded, even if they have high evaluation reports and meet all the conditions required for enrollment in the university towns.

At Cairo University, 'Ala' al-Suyufi, the university union deputy chairman, has said: Security harassment is one of the most prominent features of the new academic year. Since the year started, three students of the Veterinary Medicine College have been referred for investigation because of their union activity.

Al-Suyufi added: At the beginning of the year, the Agriculture College Students were surprised to find central security forces deployed next to the college. It later became obvious that they had come to prevent any

Islamic tendency students from entering and to protect a boisterous party at the college!

Services Despite All Difficulties

Despite these difficulties and obstacles which are placed in the face of the student unions, the unions have been able to provide numerous activities and services to the students. They posted signs of congratulation on occasion of the new academic year and signs to instruct new students and acquaint them with the quality of studies at the college and with the system of enrollment in the various academic branches and sections.

At al-Minya University, Ahmad Mustafa has said: The union has, thanks to God, been able to carry out a plan to beautify the Literature College. The students painted instruction signs and artistic Koran phrases. The union also supervised the student-enhancement groups in the various classes, including all the disciplines. The union also printed mimeographed sheets of the examinations of previous years and presented semi-monthly video shows, focusing on scientific and educational films, especially films within the students' field of specialization.

At 'Ayn Shams University, Husam al-Jazzar, the university union deputy chairman and the School of Medicine Union chairman, said: The union has engaged in numerous activities despite the obvious harassment campaign. It has printed the "Student Guide" which offers a general idea on the nature of studies at the college, on the study materials in every class, the professors' names, and on how to get available university services.

The union also issued the fourth edition of AL-SAHWAH, a printed magazine. Moreover, it organized a comprehensive fair of medical instruments and of medical, cultural, and Islamic books. The union also organized a symposium on occasion of the venerable prophet's birthday and supplied scientific and examination mimeographs. Furthermore, the union supervised the bus plan for the School of Medicine.

At al-Minufiyah University, the harassment of student activity reached the point of a complete ban and of the arrest of union members. So the union had no recourse but to issue a statement to fellow students explaining the premeditated scheme against student activity. The statement said: Perhaps you wonder about the reason for the nonexistence of unionist activity this year. We say that we have repeatedly applied for numerous activities but have been turned down. We have been even referred to the security authority to determine the extent of activity we are permitted.

Adham Mahmud, the chairman of 'Ayn Shams University's Law College Union, has said: The union organized a reception party for the students at the beginning of the year and another celebration on occasion of the venerable prophet's birthday.

The union also issued "Al-Muwajjih," a question pamphlet distributed to the students of the four classes free of charge. The union also distributed a number of Islamic books free of charge and the "Egyptian Constitution" for a token price. The union has also provided a book subsidy of nearly 40 pounds per student and has issued a periodical under the name of RISALAT AL-MASJID [The Mosque's Message].

Adham Mahmud added: One of the union's most prominent activities was the "cure week" during which 400 students were given free medical examinations at the union's expense. Moreover, the union paid the cost of the medical ticket. The union also donated 2,000 pounds to the college's Alms Tax Committee.

At 'Ayn Shams University's Science College, Ashraf al-Najjar said: Despite the arrest of a number of union members, the union has been able to provide a number of services. It has organized a comprehensive fair for chemical instruments. It has also distributed free of charge the "Student Guide" and a number of books that develop historical and religious awareness among the youth, such as "Palestine: Problem and Solution," and "What Does My Belonging to Islam Mean?" It also organized a general competition in which all classes at the college participated.

At Hulwan University, Ahmad al-Fuli said: The obvious harassment of the union has had a major impact on obstructing student activity generally. However, we have organized a fair of academic instruments and computers. We have, moreover, offered general services, such as an information service to help the new student familiarize himself with his college, a project for the exchange of textbooks between students from the various grades, instruction signs outlining the university's various features and sites, and supplied study lists to the students.

We Will Wage Elections

Do the Islamic groups at the universities insist, despite all this harassment to which the Egyptian university student is subjected in an attempt to curtail the student activity, on waging the student union elections, even though it is expected that certain candidates' names will be scratched out, that arrests will be made, and that propaganda efforts will be curtailed?

The chairmen of the student unions of Egypt's universities assert that the Islamic movement will wage the student elections out of its confidence in God's support and in the support the broad student base gives it.

Female Islamicist on Family Planning, Veiling

900A0125A Cairo LIWA' AL-ISLAM
in Arabic 1 Nov 89 p 52

[Interview with Mrs Samirah al-Maghribi by Layla Salim: "Mrs Samirah al-Maghribi Tells Sisters, 'There Is a Plan To Deal a Blow to the Muslim Family';" first two

paragraphs are LIWA' AL-ISLAM introduction; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Hajj Samirah al-Maghribi, who was married to the actor Husayn Sidqi and who likes to be called Mrs Husayn Sidqi, is a lady who has committed herself to Islam. She worked with the Muslim Sisters, promoting and spreading Islam, and she served in the forties as manager of the General Center for Muslim Women.

The family of the actor Husayn Sidqi is an anomaly in the artistic community. It is a family that was guided by God to the enlightenment of faith. They renounced the world of art with its temptations and pleasures and embarked upon a life of commitment, piety, and devotion to God's cause.

In our interview with Mrs Samirah al-Maghribi, a woman who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mrs Samirah spoke to us about her life and her family. She said, "I was fond of clothes and the world of fashion, but my husband was a man of discipline who prayed regularly and saw to it that we have no contact with the artistic community. He used to tell me and order me to pray and wear a veil, but I paid no attention to him. Al-Shaykh Shaltut, may God have mercy on his soul, was our neighbor in al-Ma'adi. When he came to visit, he used to speak to me sternly and to tell me to wear a veil. But he spoke in a cruel and harsh manner, and I would not do what he told me to do.

"I had a dream one day—it was like a vision—and in my dream someone was reading the Koran to me. What I heard was this: 'Such are those that barter away guidance for error: they profit nothing, nor are they on the right path' [al-Baqarah: 16]. When I woke up, I called the General Center for Muslim Women, and Mrs Zaynab al-Ghazali, with whom I was not acquainted, answered my call. I told her that I wanted to join the Muslim women and she told me I would be welcome. I told her that I did not wear a veil and that I wore makeup. I thought she was going to chastise me. Instead, she spoke to me in a friendly tone and told me, 'We will welcome you.' I was delighted with her kind manner and her confidence in me. So I went to the General Center for Muslim Women. I wept when I heard the religious lectures and listened to the lessons in interpreting the Koran, and I started wearing Islamic clothing. I became devoted to Islam just as much as I had shunned it and turned away from it in the past. The credit for that goes to God first and then to the conduct of Hajj Zaynab al-Ghazali, the proponent of Islam. It was Mrs al-Ghazali's manner with me and her ability to embrace Muslim sisters with wisdom and good advice [that changed my attitude]."

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] You have eight children. What do you think about what is being said these days about family planning?

[al-Maghribi] The call for family planning is an American plot whose goal is to limit and reduce the number of children born to Muslims. Thank God, I gave birth 10

times, and I have 8 children: 5 sons and 3 daughters. One of my sons is a physician and another a pilot, and some of my daughters are physicians too. Thank God, pregnancy and childbirth improved my health. The statement that people fear having too many children because that might impoverish the family has nothing to do with Islam. God Almighty says, "There is not a creature on the earth whose sustenance is not provided by Allah" [Hud: 6]. What matters is that we raise our children properly and that we do our best to raise them in an Islamic atmosphere. I thank God that my children and my grandchildren are now committed to the provisions of Islam. In everything they do, they try to determine what is permissible and what is not.

With the Late Sayyid Qutb

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] What was your attitude about art and work in the movies with the actor, Husayn Sidqi?

[al-Maghribi] When I married Husayn Sidqi, may God have mercy on his soul, he was a righteous man. He performed the duties required of him by God, and he was delighted when God showed me the way and I became involved in promoting the cause of Islam. I used to keep up with the work of female preachers in the mosques, and I hosted lectures and meetings with Muslim sisters in our home in al-Ma'adi. I asked the late Husayn Sidqi to stop working in the movies. One time when we were visiting the martyr Sayyid Qutb in the hospital before his execution, my husband mentioned that matter to him. He replied that Islamic art was needed for the Islamic Movement because people saved their pennies to go to the movies. Sayyid Qutb said that art could be used to promote Islam and offer advice and guidance. The late Husayn Sidqi started establishing a company for producing movies so he can control the story and the content. During the last days of his life, however, as his religious feelings became deeper, he gave up acting. He used to weep a lot and beg for God's forgiveness whenever he saw one of his movies on television. He would also ask that the television be turned off. He asked us to burn all his movies which he owned except for two, "Sahm Allah" [The Arrow of God] and "Khalid Ibn-al-Walid." The movies which are now being shown on television are movies that we do not own and we cannot prevent them from being broadcast.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] What are the most important observations and instructions which, in your opinion, Muslim women today must pay attention to?

[al-Maghribi] Use of the veil has become widespread, but Islamic precepts are not being closely observed. A Muslim woman who wears the veil must not wear makeup. Her clothes must be loose and not glamorous. She must stay away from parties where there is singing and dancing, and she must keep her children away from such activities. Her conduct must be firm and serious since she has gone out to work. She can thus set a good example for others and for her children as well.

Three Natural Gas Wells Drilled in Suez Gulf Area

90OA0099C London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 24 Oct 89 p 57

[Article: "Three New Wells Drilled in al-Qar'ah Gas Field, North of Abu-Madi in Egyptian Suez Gulf Area"]

[Text] Chemist 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil, Egypt's minister of petroleum and mineral resources, has issued a decree to begin developing al-Qar'ah field, the newest natural gas field in Egypt.

The Egyptian minister has decreed the drilling of three more wells, in addition to the existing three wells which have confirmed a gas find of 21.7 billion cubic meters.

Chemist 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil has stated that the new area, which includes Abu-Madi field, the first gas field, and al-Qar'ah field, the newest field, is the biggest natural gas reservoir in Egypt, with 93.5 billion cubic meters of gas and 74.2 million barrels of distillates and bottled gas.

Investment in this area has amounted to \$166 million and the value of the total production to date has amounted to \$180 million. The area's daily production will amount to nearly 14 million cubic meters of natural gas, 11,000 barrels of distillates, and 300 tons of bottled gas when development of al-Qar'ah field, north of Abu-Madi, is completed.

It is worth noting that natural gas was first discovered in Egypt in the late 1960's and that it was first used in 1975. Natural gas is currently used in power plants, factories, commercial installations, and homes.

The first association of Egyptian natural gas producers was founded last January with the aim of boosting scientific, technological, and practical studies, and of exchanging information with similar associations in the world. This association also seeks to join the International Gas Association.

Column Calls for New Constitution, Emergency Law

90OA0099A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 1 Nov 89 p 3

[Editorial by Dr Muhammad 'Usfur: "Demand for New Constitution"]

[Text] All the opposition parties are required, despite their weakness or their premeditated weakening, to take a decisively serious position vis-a-vis the ferocious assault on the judiciary, on the people's sovereignty, on the citizen's liberty, and vis-a-vis the flagrant violation of man's humanity in the form of the detention, torture and inhuman treatment to which every citizen may be subjected by the lowest ranking policeman or officer. I fully realize the fundamental difference between the secular left and the religious right, but I believe that it is impossible that either the rightist or leftist tendency has any objection to the liberal democratic tendency's

demand for a new constitution that incorporates true and serious guarantees of the people's sovereignty and the citizen's liberties, including a guarantee which considers the rigging of parliamentary elections a crime punishable by no less than the penalty of a life-term at hard labor for the minister who plans such forgery, and for all the governors and high-ranking police officers who participate in it. The trial should be conducted without consideration for the minister's position or for his parliamentary immunity, and the constitution should not stipulate the need to seek permission from the parliamentary assembly of which the minister may be a member. Moreover, the emergency law—martial laws—must be abolished, all the special powers which it provides and which are misused must be omitted, and the new constitution should state that it is illegal to declare a state of emergency except in specifically defined cases and that the state of emergency may be declared only on a resolution by the parliamentary body.

If a serious opposition existed, it would realize from bloody experience that has wasted 37 years of the nation's life and that the only way to relieve the people of all the evils that distress, humiliate, and torture them is to change the constitution in its entirety. It may not be said that the call to change the system of government is a call for a coup or for a rebellion against an existing constitution, because this call does not advocate violence, but demands that a peaceful democratic course be pursued. We hope that the ruler will respond to this course out of patriotism. An established democratic principle is that it is one of the people's true rights to change their constitution if they find it to be incompatible with the spirit of the age or with their living conditions. Moreover, the extraordinary and deplorable political actions and practices occurring now are tantamount, in fact, to a coup staged by the ruler against the constitution, even though the ruler drafted and tailored the constitution to his own specifications. Despite this, the ruler found that the constitutional shoe was too tight for his feet and that he could no longer endure it. So, the ruler was not content to take it off, but shredded it to pieces and trampled it with his feet. It is not at all wise for the regime to move limply until the people stage an uprising like the one which was staged in Algeria and which culminated in establishing a new constitution that has changed many of the tyrannical principles on which the totalitarian system had been established. True patriotism requires rulers to disregard their private interests for the sake of the people and the country. However, the opposition is required to take a unanimous stance on changing the constitution. It is required not only to unite its ranks but also to unite all the nationalist forces—labor and professional unions and federations, the universities' faculty clubs, and the scientific associations—in order to achieve this objective. The opposition or the national forces should not be misled by any counter-call contenting itself with changing some of the constitutional articles, because what needs to be changed are the

principles of the totalitarian rule which permit the absolute ruler to disregard the constitution and all its guarantees. Any promise to observe the constitution is a false and worthless promise that will not curtail the absolute individual rule that has become addicted to monopolizing power, opinion and action.

AL-AHALI Surveys 'Super Tabaqi' Bread Sellers *90OA0099B Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 25 Oct 89 p 9*

[Article: "Seller: If Control Were Tightened, Violations Would Decrease, But It Is 'the Policy,' Bakery Owner: Fines Are More Than Covered by Profits"]

[Text] "Super tabaqi" bread has become common in Cairo's streets now that the production of tabaqi bread has been generalized. The "super tabaqi" loaf is, as those in the know describe it, the old tabaqi loaf when the price of an ordinary loaf was 2 piasters.

But how is this loaf produced and sold, and what profit does it yield?

AL-AHALI has toured the various parts of greater Cairo to find out the loaf's standards and price, and it has interviewed a number of sellers of "super tabaqi" bread which costs 10 piasters a loaf.

In Tal'at Harb Street, Muhammad 'Uways said: "I am employed as a wage worker by a merchant who buys the bread for 6 piasters a loaf, packages it in 10-loaf bags, and sells each bag for one pound.

"The 10-piaster loaf meets the specifications. If the general price is made 10 piasters a loaf, then we will raise it to 15 piasters a loaf."

On the Autostrad, we interviewed Nasif Fahmi Rabi' who said: "I sell 60 bags a day for 60 pounds. In the late hours of the day, we sell the bread for 25 piasters a loaf and at times for 15 piasters a loaf." He added: "If control were tightened, the violations would decrease, but this is the policy."

More than half the flour allotments are sold in the black market. The citizens have no choice but to buy the 10-piaster loaf or starve. AL-AHALI has learned that flour is sold before dawn from carts in the streets for 60 pounds a sack. They complain about the poor control and quality of the bread and warn against any increase which they cannot afford.

In front of the Agricultural Museum in al-Duqqi, we saw a number of boxes of "super tabaqi" bread and 2 children selling it for 10 piasters a loaf. We asked the children about the bakery owner and they said that he was Muhammad. We asked to meet him and they took us to him. At a corner close to the selling spot, we found a factory containing a large number of full boxes of bread. We asked Muhammad, "the champion," as people call him, about how he gets the bread. He said: "The bread we sell comes from a bakery in al-Qal'ah and from numerous parts of Cairo and al-Jizah.

"We work for only 2 or 3 hours at the end of the day and sell 600-700 loafs daily.

"I get wages of 5 pounds for this period. The demand for this bread is high because of the poor quality of ordinary bread. If the general price is raised to 10 piasters, the situation will remain unchanged. The 'super loaf' is purchased from the people in control. When the supply intelligence men round us up, we resume selling as soon as we are released because the profit is tempting."

While talking to Muhammad, another person arrived and we discovered that he was a bakery owner. He said: "We bake nearly 12 sacks of 'super tabaqi' bread daily. This bread is sold to the public for 5 piasters a loaf. We also bake 8 sacks of a variety that is sold for 10 piasters a loaf. The yield from the violation covers the fine for the violation and leaves a big profit."

Major General Nabil Nasif, the supply investigations general director, said when interviewed: "We will tighten the control on the bakeries now that the period of enlightenment has ended!"

Columnist Sees Egypt-Libya Rapport as Arab Unity Step

90OA0127B Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM
in Arabic 31 Oct 89 p 16

[Article by Husayn Fahmi: "Outlook for Tomorrow"]

[Text] The goal of imperialism and Zionism has always been to stir up disputes and create conflicts between Egypt and Libya. Their conspiracies reached their highest level in the wake of the revolution which was led by Colonel al-Qadhdhafi on 1 September and after the liquidation of Wheelus Base, which was the largest U.S. military base outside the United States.

Since Libya received support and strong backing from the July Revolution, which was led by 'Abd-al-Nasir, the fears harbored by imperialism and Zionism grew and intensified. They feared that the July and September revolutions might join forces and struggle together. This would mean that the larger part of the southern coastline of the Mediterranean Sea would become the stronghold of a pro-liberation, pro-unity, Arab and African force. With Libya having a 3,000 kilometer coastline and Egypt having what is almost a 1,000 kilometer coastline, three quarters of the strategically important southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea would be turned into a spearhead for the Arab National Liberation Movement and a strong base for its defense.

Despite the fact that relations between Egypt and Libya were deteriorating and despite the fact that Libya's continuous attempts to forge a unity with Egypt were failing, al-Qadhdhafi continued to believe deeply that, as far as al-Jamahiriyah was concerned, unity with Egypt was inevitable.

Relations between Egypt and Libya are strong. The two countries have strong geographic, historic, Arab, and

cultural ties. They have blood ties and marriage ties, and marriages between people from both countries continue. In Benghazi, the most populous area in Libya, it is rare to find someone who does not have Egyptian blood, and it is also rare to find someone in west and northwest Egypt who does not have Libyan origins. Given these facts it would be possible to understand the implications of a 10-point agreement for cooperation, joint projects, and cooperation in all areas. News about the agreement was received with joy by Libyans and Egyptians. Of all the Arab nations who love Egypt and Egyptians, no other nation loves Egypt and Egyptians more than the fraternal people of Libya.

These facts manifested themselves in the reception which Mubarak received along the 30 kilometer route to Tubruq. Libyans of all ages and from all villages along that route chanted "One nation, not two" and "Unity from Morocco to Bahrain." In a genuinely Arab manner the Arab masses expressed their joy by slaughtering animals along the route.

There is no doubt that the new Egyptian-Libyan relations, cemented by the recent agreement to work together, is considered to provide strong support for Egypt's and Libya's common interests. This agreement will set the pace for the first steps that will be taken on the long road to Arab unity: the only refuge and solid foundation we have for confronting the challenges of the age and catching up with the age.

ISRAEL

Preparations for 1992 Being Made

44000109 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 28 Nov 89

[Text] It is to be hoped that the Israeli delegation that is to begin periodic discussions tomorrow in Brussels with the "European Economic Community" commission will not heed the advice of Uri Menashe and Israeli industrialists who are attempting to persuade us that the unification of Europe will be delayed because of the changes taking place in the East. We should understand that talk about "preparing for 1992" does not only mean more meticulous study of the issue, including an examination that every branch of the economy must undertake by itself in order to understand the precise ramifications of the elimination of trade barriers in Europe for exporting its products, for importing raw materials, and even for their sale on the local market. Preparing means also a willingness to benefit from the advantages the new situation will provide us while taking risks, including forgoing protection of locally-produced goods, of which there is no chance. As for Europe itself, there is no doubt that the 12 countries have already gone a long way, and that there is no turning back. All we can do is try to move forward on this course and not lag behind.

Olmert Reviews Incidents Inside Israel*44000113 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 5 Dec 89 p 3*

[Text] During a Knesset discussion on Israeli Arabs yesterday, Minister Without Portfolio Ehud Olmert, who is in charge of Arab affairs, said that during 1989, there were 353 nationalistic incidents inside Israel, and 20 terrorist cells were discovered, 10 of which were affiliated with the PLO. Olmert said that the Arab population of Israel has recently become more extreme.

Hamas Leader Discusses Elections in Territories*44000116 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Dec 89 p 2*

[Text] According to Dr Mahmud Zahir, the ideological leader of Hamas in the Gaza Strip who was recently released from administrative detention, the Islamic movement will participate in elections held in the territories. Zahir believes that there is no doubt that in elections in the territories, the Islamic movement will receive a considerable percentage. In an interview with Israel television's Arabic language service, Zahir maintained that new peace plans are unnecessary and that it is necessary to build on the Shamir, Mubarak, and Baker plans. He stated that there is no doubt that the success of the Islamic movement in Jordan will give a push to the Islamic movement in the territories. Mansur al-Shawwa, who was also interviewed on the program, said that if firearms are used in the intifadah, this would be a harmful development for the Palestinians. According to statistics mentioned during the program, the standard of living of residents of the Gaza Strip has declined by 30 percent since the beginning of the intifadah. Masked men who were apprehended by IDF [Israel Defense Forces] soldiers were also interviewed on the program. According to the men, they were not paid the money that had been promised to them for writing slogans on walls. They added that the intifadah must change directions because it has not had significant results. According to them, "Israel has the power and we must reach negotiations with it."

Defense Ministry Assesses IDF, Intifadah*44000106 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 1 Dec 89 p 1*

[Text] A discussion was held yesterday at the defense minister's office marking the second anniversary of the uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Participating in the meeting were the defense minister, the chief of staff, the deputy chief of staff, and other top army brass, the head of the General Security Services [GSS], GSS branch heads, and officials of the Civil Administration. Assessments and predictions for the coming year were made. The participants agreed that the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] had adjusted to this kind of uprising, and succeeded in foiling massive demonstrations and in thwarting disruptions in the Civil Administration's work. The defense minister asked the IDF to lighten the burden on reservists during the coming year. GSS heads

reported that over 500 cells had been uncovered in the territories since the beginning of the intifadah, of which 170 were uncovered after 'Arafat's declaration about the cessation of violence. Some of the officers expressed the opinion that care must be taken to prevent aberrant behavior by soldiers in the territories.

Senior Command Positions Filled*44000110 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Dec 89 p 2*

[Text] The defense minister and chief of staff decided this week to appoint Brigadier General Ya'aqov Or commander of the Judea and Samaria area in place of Brigadier General Gabi 'Ofir, who will be transferred to a senior position in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] field command. Colonel Shlomo Wakhs will be appointed chief signal corps officer and promoted to the rank of brigadier general. Brigadier General Benny Meydan, who currently holds the position, will be concluding his active service in the IDF. Brigadier General Menahem Zatorsky will be appointed NAHAL [Pioneer Fighting Youth] commander, replacing Brigadier General Ben-Tziyon Weiner.

IDF Assesses Islamic, Fatah Strength*44000088 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Nov 89 p 1*

[Text] According to an IDF [Israel Defense Forces] assessment of the balance of political forces in the territories, if general elections were held now in the West Bank, some 65 percent of the population would favor Fatah, some 30 percent would vote for extremist Islamic groups, and the remainder would be divided between various left-wing organizations and "fronts." According to military elements, the election results in Jordan reflect the mood in the West Bank to a large extent. However, since the establishment of Hamas in the West Bank in 1988, support for the movement has been growing, especially in the Nabulus and Hebron areas, which have always been more religious than other areas of the West Bank. The increasing strength of the Islamic movement in the West Bank worries the unified leadership of the uprising as well as other PLO elements in the territories. The ideological inspiration of the Muslim Brotherhood in the West Bank, as in Jordan, is the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and not the Shi'ite movements from Iran and Lebanon. However, the positions of the Muslim movement in the West Bank on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are more extreme: It supports one Palestinian Islamic state between the Jordan River and the sea, without any territorial compromise. The increased support for Islamic fundamentalists can be seen in their growing achievements on strike days and in other intifadah-related activities, which they conduct independently of the unified leadership of the uprising. According to the IDF's assessment, if there is a continued political stalemate, Muslim extremists will continue to grow stronger. Hamas is in constant contact with members of eight groups of Islamic movements in the

Gaza Strip, mainly on the ideological level, and less regarding day-to-day activities. In response to this assessment, a senior military source said yesterday that it is still premature to draw far-reaching conclusions from the elections in Jordan, and that in any case, there has been no dramatic development in this direction in the territories.

IDF Prepares To Confront Firearms Use

44000081 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 21 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] According to military sources, the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], together with the Civil Administration in the Gaza Strip, held an exercise to prepare for the possibility of an escalation in the intifadah, including the use of firearms. This is the first such exercise held by the IDF. The sources added that recently there has been a decline in activity by masked people in the Gaza Strip. Since the orders on opening fire at masked people in Gaza were changed, three have been shot and killed, and 78 apprehended. The military sources noted that those conducting the exercise take into account that terrorists in the Gaza Strip are in possession of large quantities of combat materiel.

IDF Changes Policy on Publishing Suicides

44000078 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 29 Nov 89

[Text] Reports of attempted suicide and suicides of soldiers have become routine. The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] changed its policy regarding publishing details, and is making public events which were classified until now. The same applies to reports of training accidents or bullets misfiring which were taboo until recent months. The army claims the statistics have not changed, but rather the publishing and awareness have increased. The army has during the last few years emphasized new selective criteria for recruits. It has formulated an approach to locate mental disturbances, increased its educational campaign and the awareness among its commanders of distress signals. In susceptible units—especially basic training and basic courses—it has expanded its network of mental health officers. The army requires assistance in order to cope with the phenomenon. Today, it receives data about recruits or reserve soldiers with problems of mental health only if they were hospitalized in the past. Here is where family, friends, and those who provided treatment come in. This is the army's request today—come and tell us. Perhaps this will in some way cut down the phenomenon.

Increased Security Activity Within Green Line Sought

44000079 Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 20 Nov 89

[Text] In general, when discussing the intifadah, which is creeping into Israel proper, we should also pay attention to what is happening on Israel's roads in general and in the Galilee in particular: From time to time we witness

the throwing of stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli vehicles there. The fact that here and there within Israel proper PLO flags are being flown proves that not only is the intifadah creeping into Israel, it has also become an established fact. This fact should cause concern. If appropriate steps are not taken in time, it will not be easy to cope with these phenomena. A strong hand is required to deal with all those who dare to fly PLO flags within Israel and in addition, laborers arriving from Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip to work in Israeli factories should be carefully scrutinized. It seems that until now, scant attention has been paid to proper cautionary measures, and, as a result, not only has the audacity of the Arab residents, who raise their hands against Jews increased, but many attacks have taken place. It is fitting, therefore, to congratulate the Tel Aviv district commanding officer of the Israel Police for admitting publicly for the first time that the intifadah has penetrated into Israel proper. Nevertheless, we hope that the police commander's statement will serve as an incentive to the Israel Police and the security forces to increase their alertness and activity in order to nip the intifadah in the bud, within Israel as well.

Terror Squads Within Green Line Examined

44000087 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 23 Nov 89

[Text] The village of al-Daburriyah is a developed and prosperous settlement, in which the state and the village's residents have invested many resources. Nevertheless, the village is known for its extremism, and terrorist squads were discovered there in the not-too-distant past. The growing increase in terrorist squads from Israel's Arab sector within the green line is worrisome, and especially the common characteristics of these squads. Firstly, the squads are large, with dozens of members. Secondly, the squad members are young, some of them students in the upper grades of high school. Thirdly, they are independently organized, without any links to political bodies or established terrorist organizations or residents of the territories. And fourthly, their terrorist acts are an imitation of the model of intifadah activity in the territories: throwing rocks, using Molotov cocktails against vehicles, burning vehicles and forests, and activity against those suspected of cooperating with Israeli authorities. This is a serious warning signal, which requires immediate thought and action.

Economic Cooperation With Eastern Europe, USSR Sought

44000076 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 29 Nov 89

[Text] Poland and a few of its neighbors need direct assistance from the West, especially from the American governmental and economic systems, but also trade with Israel, Arab countries, and agricultural cooperation. The condition of the USSR is more complex: There are opportunities for Israel to establish partnerships and sign deals with the central government, but perhaps no less so than with the various republics, which demanded and

achieved certain economic independence. Leading in this direction at the moment are the Baltic republics, but an infrastructure is developing for Israeli economic relations with republics which are closer to the Middle East; e.g., Georgia and Armenia. Even if this is not the aim of the East Europeans, Israel can expect political yields from an economic investment. Even if changes brought about by Gorbachev and the new leaders in the Soviet sphere of influence are halted, there will be no retreat in what Israeli contacts with them will have attained, because they themselves will have an increasing interest in protecting and nurturing this connection, for the sake of the populations on whose support the regime in these capitals depends more than at any other time in the last 4 decades.

Expansion of Territorial Waters Sought

44000114 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 5 Dec 89 p 7

[Text] Israel has submitted an official request to the U.N.'s International Territorial Water Committee in Geneva to extend its territorial waters from 6 to 12 miles. The request has been discussed over the last few months and the Israeli Navy expects the request to be approved.

Industrial Product Expected to Drop

44230016B Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 25 Sep 89 p 3

[Text] "According to available forecasts, Israel's industrial product will drop approximately 1.5 percent this year. Last year a drop of approximately 3.2 percent was registered," Uri Menashe, chairman of the working council of industrial unions, said yesterday.

According to Menashe, investments in industry also dropped at a rate of 8 percent over and above the 13.4 percent drop that was registered last year.

The industrial union anticipates that by the end of the year, another 8,000 workers will leave the industrial sector. Menashe emphasizes that out of approximately 12,000 industrial workers who were fired from their jobs last year, most are still without work. A few found jobs in the service sector. He added that over the course of the year, increased productivity in industry of 3 percent was registered, with salaries decreasing approximately 1 percent.

According to Menashe, the increase in productivity was due solely to the fact that over the course of the year investment in industry declined as compared with last year, and, therefore, capital goods were not upgraded.

Menashe does not expect a significant decrease in the number of the unemployed between now and the end of the year.

Slight Decrease in Industrial Production Noted

44000103 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 1 Dec 89 p 12

[Text] During the first 9 months of the year, the number of workers in industry has declined by about 16,000 relative to the same period last year; i.e., approximately 6 percent. Industrial production, not including diamonds, rose by 2 percent during the third quarter of 1989 compared to the previous quarter. However, industrial production during 1989 was 2 percent less than during the same period in 1988.

Bank of Israel Suggests Ways To Resume Growth

44230016C Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 25 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by DAVAR's economic reporter in Jerusalem: "Renewed Growth Without Inflation Requires Avoiding Wage Increases"]

[Text] The renewed growth process via noninflationary means requires avoiding the payment of unusual wage increases and carefully remaining within the framework of the budget, given the perceptible rise in the deficit and the preservation of the stability of the exchange rate. The tax rate must be lowered, while at the same time expanding the tax base, continuing to implement reforms in capital and money markets, and taking steps to relieve unemployment in development areas.

This is what Michael Bruno, Governor of the Bank of Israel, said in the report he submitted yesterday to the government and the Knesset finance committee in the framework of a report on the rise in the money supply for the period ending 30 April. During this period, the money supply increased by 673 million new shekels, which represents 18.9 percent.

In his review, the governor states that over the last few months, a reduction in economic activities has continued and the source is in the integration of supply factors and high production costs, mainly salaries, and reduced demand: Investments and personal consumption declined. The governor says that the events in the territories aggravated the decline, due to both the general disruptions and due to reduced demand from the residents of the territories.

Notwithstanding, Professor Bruno points out that since the beginning of the year several steps were taken to improve corporate profit margins and relieve their monetary burden. In the last period, the governor says, we have also witnessed the rewards of a reawakening in the export sector. These developments, he says, are likely to contribute to a gradual departure from economic decline.

In his review, the governor says that the rise in unemployment stems largely from the increased demand for

jobs due to the growth of the working age population, a rise in the rate of women in the work force and in part from a reduction of hidden unemployment, which was exposed by adjustments made in production facilities following a decline in the inflation rate.

The economic policy for the next period is as follows:

- **Public Sector Budget:** The framework of the existing budget must be carefully maintained. It will be necessary to cut all increases in some sections and effect decreases in others. It would be desirable to make cuts in the section on payment transfers to the public, which swelled significantly in recent years. Efforts to make public services such as health care services more efficient should be stepped up.
- **Taxes:** There should be an all-out effort to effect reform in direct taxes, which would bring about a broadening of the tax base and a reduction in tax rates without changing the total sum of taxes collected. Such reform would enable improvements in the allocation of production factors and an increase in supply.
- **Public investment in the infrastructure** must be increased. This is an area that has suffered over recent years.
- **Wage and Employment:** The government must prevent the awarding of unusual wage increases in the public sector and apply pressure on the private sector to restrain from wage increases beyond those provided for in existing agreements.
- **Inequities in the minimum wage law** must be revised: The eligibility to receive the minimum wage must be determined on the basis of all wage components. Similarly, the method for periodically adjusting the minimum wage must be revised so that a wage increase mechanism that accelerates itself is not created. These changes are likely to reduce unemployment rates.
- **Furthermore,** it is proposed that a change be made in the method of paying unemployment compensation, so that the scope of the payment will be reduced over time. The intent is not necessarily to reduce the total sum paid, but rather to spread the payments out in such a way as to create an incentive to seek employment.
- **The Price Policy and Exchange Rate:** The stability of the nominal exchange rate must be maintained. Thus the frequent initiative of increases in the prices of products controlled by the government must be avoided, beyond what is required to maintain the subsidy rates planned for in the budget, a phenomenon that creates expectations of a continued inflationary process in the eyes of the public.
- **Monetary Policy and Reforms in Money and Capital Markets:** It is necessary to put every effort into the continued process of reducing overall debit interest, if developments in the area of the budget, prices, and balance of payments allow this. This goal will be achieved by reforms in money and capital markets and in the area of foreign currency.

Nation Reportedly Ill-Equipped To Absorb Immigrants

44230016A Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 25 Sep 89 p 9

[Article by Dani Tzadkoni: "Five People to a Room"]

[Text] "Israel is still not prepared to absorb immigrants," Uri Gordon, head of the Jewish Agency's immigration and absorption unit told me, as we were waiting at "Pladot," the immigration center at Ashdod, for Israel Kaiser, secretary general of the Histadrut, the VIP visitor of the day. A cool sea breeze was blowing through the columns at the center. Oscar, the grounds keeper, was washing the piazza in front of the building.

It is expected that by the end of 1989, 20,000 immigrants will have arrived in Israel, says Gordon. If they are absorbed as they should be, then it is possible that in 1990, 15,000 immigrants will arrive from the USSR alone. If their absorption also goes well, it is possible that over the next 3 years, 50,000 immigrants will arrive. To this end, new priorities must be set in Israeli society. First and foremost, the government must prepare a master plan for the absorption of immigrants.

Israel Kaiser, who in the meantime has arrived, announces that the Histadrut has recently decided to join the absorption effort. That, he says, is the difference between us and other labor organizations throughout the world. The others, to protect the employment and professional interests of their members, would fight against the absorption of immigrants in their countries. The Histadrut, on the other hand, wages its struggles without harming immigration. Furthermore, despite its economic difficulties, the Histadrut will be an active partner in the absorption process. First and foremost, the issue is social absorption. It is not only the council of workers and the branches of NA'AMAT [Pioneer Women; Histadrut Women's Organization] that must gear up to absorb the immigrants. Personal adoption is also very important—the adoption of an immigrant family by an Israeli family.

In Kaiser's opinion, the aid that the Histadrut has given the immigrants via the network of social health clinics has not received the appreciation it deserves. The clinics cared for the immigrants from Ethiopia, who had serious health problems, without any help from the government. Kaiser also suggested that the government exploit the potential of the Histadrut's construction companies, Solel Bone and Shikun 'Ovdim, to build 1,895 new apartments for immigrants throughout Israel. He has prepared, together with the construction workers union, a plan for recruiting 1,000 unemployed workers for this purpose.

Today, approximately 10,000 immigrants are living in absorption centers. If the immigrants were able to leave the centers after 6 months and live in rented or purchased apartments, they could handle 20,000 immigrants a year through existing centers. Given the current situation, it does not appear that new absorption centers will be built.

This means that the absorption centers will be filled to capacity and immigration will have to be halted. It was the first minister of housing from the Likud, Gideon Porat, who decided to eliminate public building for the absorption of immigrants. Previous Israeli Governments always ensured a supply of housing for the absorption of immigrants, even if only to be prepared for the possibility that the exit gates would suddenly be opened for Jews from one country or another. It appears that a return to public building is the only solution to the problem.

On the tour we took that day through three absorption centers, we heard about a few immigrants, mostly young people from the United States, who immigrated to Israel, served in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], and then, because they were single, no housing was found for them. They gave up and returned to the United States.

At the absorption center in Ashkelon, Kalanit, Knesset member Mayor Eli Dayan said that his city hopes to absorb 20,000 new immigrants over the next 8 years. Today, there are 60,000 people living in Ashkelon. The Histadrut construction company B. P. Housing has hundreds of dunams of land for construction in some of the most elite areas of the city. By giving the city's new industrial area the status of a "B" development zone and developing it, in Dayan's opinion, this desire could become reality. The absorption center, Kalanit, absorbs mostly immigrants from Ethiopia. These people, says Arie Ozer, secretary of the workers council, are dedicated and industrious workers.

The Histadrut, Kaiser promised at the end of the tour, will not be satisfied with moral encouragement alone, but will continue to be an active participant in all facets of the absorption process.

Who and What Are in Absorption Centers

The absorption center in Ashdod, Pladot (one of three in this city), is the only one in Israel that accepts large families. To this end, the center has three- and four-room apartments. Currently, there are 19 families from Romania living there, 14 from Iran, 11 from the USSR, 6 from Argentina, 6 from India, 4 from Morocco, 3 from France, 1 from Turkey, 1 from Chile, 1 from Brazil, and 1 from Uruguay.

Twelve of the families have already been living in the center for more than 2 years; 12 for half a year to a year; 32 for up to 24 months, and 11 for up to 6 months. Eighty children from the center are studying in the municipal school system. Six young children are in the center's day-care unit. The population of the center totals 306.

The absorption center, Kalanit, in the Shimon district of Ashkelon, was built 11 years ago for young, single immigrants who live in residential-type units (permanent housing). Since "operation Moshe" the center has been populated with families from Ethiopia. There are 84 apartments in the hostel—some are studios, some

have one and a half rooms. Recently, families with 5 to 10 members have been living there, in other words, as many as 5 people to a room. It was intended for families with two to three members. In Kalanit, there are still 22 singles and 4 families living in hostel conditions—a total of 36 people. Eighty-two families, totalling 219 people, live under absorption-center conditions. There are 104 children in the center. All of the children aged 3 and above go to municipal nurseries and schools. Up to the age of 3, they are in NA'AMAT day-care centers. Twelve children are in boarding schools.

Over the last few months, 22 families have left the center to live in town or in central Israel, and 13 new families were absorbed. Over the next few months, another eight families are scheduled to leave. For 19 veteran immigrants for "operation Moshe," no housing has been found.

The absorption center, Canada House, in the Barne's district of Ashkelon, was built in 1976. It consists of three structures each containing 12 one-room apartments, 78 two-room apartments and 36 three-room apartments. It houses 319 people and can hold another 81 in 21 apartments that are currently empty. Here, too, they bring immigrants from Romania, 36 families; from Argentina and the USSR, 30 each; 13 from Iran; 5 from Morocco; 4 from Hungary; 3 from India; 2 from the United States; 2 from Yugoslavia; 2 from France; 1 from Poland; 1 from Austria; 1 from Holland; 1 from Bulgaria.

Nineteen of these families have lived there for more than 2 years; 35 for 1 to 2 years; 40 for 6 months to 1 year; 36 for less than 6 months. Housing solutions have been found for only 15 out of the 130 families. Over the last 6 months, 65 families left Canada House and 63 were absorbed.

Statistics on Emigration Given

44000080 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 21 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] Uri Gordon, head of the Jewish Agency's 'Aliya Department, stated last night that last year some 19,000 Israelis emigrated from Israel. In the past 8 years, an average of 11,000 have left the country each year. The total number of emigrants is estimated at 300,000. Gordon added that 1,676 Israelis have returned to the country since the beginning of the year, which is 14 percent less than in the same period last year.

Funds Allocated for Russian Immigrant Scientists

44000101 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 30 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] The joint Israeli-American fund for research and development will this year, for the first time, allocate funds for the absorption of immigrant scientists from the

USSR. The decision was made in response to a request by Industry and Trade Minister Ari'el Sharon that scientists arriving in Israel as part of the expected wave of immigration be integrated into industrial research and development projects. The fund's executive council, which met yesterday in Jerusalem, approved 16 research and development projects worth \$9.3 million in the fields of electronics, computers, telecommunications, and control systems.

Health Care Conditions in Territories Examined

Authorities Accused of Undermining

90OL0083A Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 17 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Vered Levi: "Israel Is Deliberately Undermining Health Care Services in the Strip"]

[Text] Palestinian and Israeli doctors claim that during the years of occupation, the health care network in the territories has been neglected. Since the outbreak of the intifadah, the Israeli administration has adopted a clear and deliberate policy that has undermined what is left of the health care network's infrastructure. The policy, the practice in effect, is carried out by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] every day. If no preventative action is taken or if no aid is given, it will be a real crime.

There are approximately 650,000 residents in Gaza and there are only 900 hospital beds at their disposal in six hospitals. In areas such as neurosurgery, pathology, rehabilitation, and radiation treatment, there are no medical services available.

These statements were made by doctors at a public conference, open to the public, at the "Tzavta" club in Tel Aviv after 2 years of activity on the part of the Fellowship of Israeli-Palestinian Doctors for Human Rights. From the podium, the doctors called for those who were moved by the issue to join the fellowship. "We want to broaden the scope of professions within our ranks, to include more than just doctors and nurses," the members of the fellowship explained. "There is an urgent need for people from other helping professions, psychologists, and others."

The members of the fellowship also intend to broaden the scope of its activities to spill over in new areas that appear equally urgent and important today. Dr Ruhama Marton, one of the founders of the fellowship, said that "what motivates us is the urgent need to help the residents of the territories in whatever area they are being threatened."

Dr Marton emphasized that the fellowship is completely free from political influence and party support. Dr 'Amaya Hamshi from Jerusalem and Dr 'Az'am Hal'awadi from Nabulus reported on the difficult and intolerable situation in the territories from the point of view of the medical staff. They told of "unexpected visits" by

the IDF at hospitals, and about never ending harassment of ambulance drivers by the Army.

At the conference, a report was distributed on the health care services in the Gaza Strip, from August 1989, that was prepared and printed by members of the fellowship. Among other things, the report contains data on the medical situation in the territories.

As stated above, there are 650,000 residents in Gaza, in a 350 square-km area. This population has only 900 hospital beds at their disposal in six hospitals. In areas such as neurosurgery, pathology, rehabilitation, and radiation treatment, there are no medical services available.

The level of equipment at these hospitals is low and they lack many fundamental items such as catheters, x-ray machines, anaesthesia units and more. In the entire Gaza Strip there are only 14 government ambulances. None are fitted with emergency equipment.

Until April of this year, according to the doctors, 19,255 people were wounded—1,105 by rubber bullets, 619 by plastic bullets, 4,087 by tear gas, and 10,815 by blows.

It was also disclosed that 76.1 percent of the wounded were men and 23.9 percent were women.

Official Rejects Criticism

90OL0083B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Edna Aridor]

[Text] "There has not been a deterioration in health care services provided in the Gaza Strip, the budget for health services there has not been cut, and the level of services provided, which is still low as compared with Israel, is in the process of being improved. The health care network in the region is the only one that was not adversely affected by the intifadah.

"Reports of deliberate arrests of doctors are without merit. Anyone who was arrested was suspected of crimes against national security. It is important to separate the problems of the health care network in the territories from political pressures being applied by various interest groups."

These statements were made by Dr Ram Yeschi, chairman of the physicians union, in the second report on the health care network in the Gaza Strip. In the report, Dr Yeschi denies the claims of the Fellowship of Israeli-Palestinian Doctors concerning the deterioration of the health care network in the territories, the prevention of treatment, and patients being sent to Israel as a form of punishment.

The report, which Dr Yeschi presented yesterday, established that there are 850 doctors registered in the strip, approximately half of whom work in other countries, mainly in the Persian Straits area. Of the 430 doctors who work in the strip itself, 320 are employed by the civil

administration, 44 by UNRWA and the rest are private doctors or doctors employed by various charitable organizations. The average salary of the physicians is 1,200 shekels a month. There is no basis for the claim that many doctors are unemployed and are forced to work as hospital "auxiliaries" for humiliating wages.

It was also established that on the old issue of the Saifa Hospital in Gaza, work is being done to improve the level of care. On the hospital grounds, a new building is being completed (Number 8) that will accommodate 165 beds, an emergency room, emergency treatment units, an anaesthesia unit, and operating rooms. In Building 2, a trained team of doctors operates a modern dialysis unit with 14 stations. The new department of gynecology, recently opened, is well equipped. In the new wing for infants, there are 15 incubators and 8 more are being installed. A new wing for neurosurgery is about to open, as soon as two neurosurgeons complete their training period at the Siva medical center in Tel Hashomer.

The network is prepared to deal with political strikes and curfews: There are 1,750 employees of the medical service who have permits allowing them to move freely during curfew. On days where there are strikes and curfews, the clinics and medical centers are open and the teams work overtime.

85 Percent of the Children Are Immunized

It was further determined in the report that no cuts had been made in the budget for hospitalization time. In every hospital, there is an independent committee whose role is to establish priorities. No one interferes with committee decisions. Twenty-one percent of the cases referred to Israel were for surgery on children, 22 percent oncology, 9 percent ophthalmologic, and 8 percent neurosurgical.

Approximately 500 oncology patients from the Gaza Strip are treated every month in Israel without being hospitalized.

Eighty-five percent of the children from the Gaza Strip have been immunized, a very high rate compared with other countries in the region.

Jewish Population in Galilee Declines

44000104 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Text] According to government statistician Professor Moshe Siqron and Natan Eyal, senior assistant director of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the percentage of Jews in the population of the Galilee has declined from 54 percent in the sixties to 48 percent now. Also, relative defense expenditure has been in constant decline since 1973. In 1973 it comprised 32 percent of the GNP [gross national product], as compared to 16 percent in 1989.

Commentary on Gush Emunim Rabbi, al-Husayni Meeting

44230016D Tel Aviv 'AL-HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 24 Sep 89 p 7

[Editorial: "The Sins of Rabbi Fruman"]

[Text] Rabbi Fruman of Teku'a sinned a sin for which he will not be exonerated. He met with Palestinian leader Faysal al-Husayni, and the two talked for several hours. Of course, Rabbi Fruman did not offer his partner in conversation any concessions—not concerning the territories, and not concerning the united Land of Israel. Rabbi Fruman tried to examine the possibility of talks between Israelis and Palestinians based on the Jewish settlement in the territories—an attempt of sorts at the coexistence of two peoples involved in a blood feud, based on the Palestinians' recognition of Judaea and Samaria as part of the Jewish homeland, and their right to establish an identity in that context.

Rabbi Fruman explicitly declared that he is against the PLO and against a Palestinian state. However, the very fact of the meeting raised a storm of anger within Gush Emunim, and, one might assume, within the whole right nationalist circle in Israel. Already there has been talk of expelling him from Gush Emunim, and he may be dismissed from Teku'a and from his position as rabbi there. The worst of all of these possibilities is the ostracism of the man, as one who set himself apart from the national consensus.

What is frightening about the entire incident is the lack of tolerance toward a slightly different opinion, even though in essence Rabbi Fruman did not stray from the "consensus" of a united Land of Israel. The fear among people from "the Gush" is directed toward a dialogue with the Palestinians, because perhaps these latter will say something that will awaken in the thinking man the desire to attempt to reach a dialogue with the enemy.

The people from the right claim that there are Palestinians in the territories who are not PLO, who are willing to talk with Israelis, except that in so doing they would be endangering their lives by breaching the PLO consensus, and would talk "unofficially" with Israeli leaders. Here, the same system is being used against Israelis, too, who dare to meet with "the declared enemy," Faysal al-Husayni. No, there has not yet been a physical threat to Rabbi Fruman's life, but the campaign of ostracism and the pressure against him have already begun.

What is the fear of a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians? In any event, the participants in the meetings do not have the authority to reach any agreements. The fear is of "the danger" that an understanding might arise to replace the hatred and animosity. It appears that there are many in Israel who are not prepared to stop seeing the Palestinians as eternal enemies.

Logic dictates that animosity can be expunged when a dialogue begins between enemies. Gush Emunim is not

willing to let go of the existence of Palestinian animosity. It appears that the very existence of "the Gush" is nourished by this animosity. Rabbi Fruman, whom as we said did not deny a unified Israel, sinned a terrible sin by virtue of his willingness to talk to the enemy. Not to agree with him, but to listen to him. Gush Emunim wants to stop this breach immediately. Otherwise, the "Gush" people fear, there may be more people in Judea and Samaria who, God forbid, will start talking with the Palestinians, as if they were equals.

Editorial Contends Jordan Is Not Palestine

44000082 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Nov 89

[Text] Israel's problem is not a question of territory, but of population, and since the major portion of the West Bank is populated by Arabs, we must seek a way of ending our control over a population which does not want to be ruled by a foreign nation. All Israeli governments since 1948-49 have maintained that the problem of the refugees cannot be solved without the participation of the Arab world in this burden and have not excepted Jordan from this rule. But this burden should not be imposed on Jordan alone, and anyone who demands that this be done gives the impression that he is striving to undermine Jordan's stability. No Israeli government, including those led by Menahem Begin, saw this as the way to insure our security, and we should be wary of it today, too.

LEBANON

Shaykh Fadlallah Discusses Hostages, Political Situation

90OL0097Z Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR
in Arabic 20 Oct 89 pp 64-67

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, spiritual leader of Hizballah, by Sulayman 'Abd-al-'Azim in Shaykh Fadlallah's home in the southern section of West Beirut: "The War in Lebanon Did Not Get to the Bottom of the Problems and It Will Not Solve the Lebanese Problem; The Pope's Visit to East Beirut Does Not Serve the Pope's Interests or the Interests of Lebanon; We Have Been Plagued by Muslims Who Enjoy the Maronites' Political Privileges More Than the Maronites Themselves;" first three paragraphs are AL-MUSAWWAR introduction; date not specified]

[Text] As I was being driven to Harik Lane in the southern section of West Beirut, I asked myself: How do I begin my interview with the spiritual leader of Hizballah?

We passed three locations and security roadblocks before we got to the old building and walked up to the second floor where the man of mystery resides. Westerners have been having a difficult time trying to figure out what kind of man he is. The security official in the house, who had searched us very carefully, asked me to leave my briefcase downstairs and to carry nothing with me upstairs to Shaykh Fadlallah but the sheet of paper on

which the questions were written, my tape recorder, and a pencil. The man had been the target of an assassination attempt, and, it's been said, he is being watched.

Naturally, our first question to the spiritual leader of Hizballah was this: Why did what happen in Lebanon happen?

[Fadlallah] The Lebanese problem is a smaller version of the way in which political reality in the region operates, with all the parts of the Arab problem overlapping the international problem within the movement of the political situation in the region. Lebanon is, after all, the safety valve for the entire area. Steam which is generated by the problems of the countries in the region is released in Lebanon. To more than one international alliance, Lebanon represents the kitchen where the region's problems are cooked and resolved.

One of the characteristics of the plan which was devised for Lebanon's sectarian, religious, and political diversity may be the fact that Lebanon was meant to be a place where experiments can be conducted to show the nature of Islam and that of Christianity in sectarian wars or in wars that are sectarian in character. Lebanon may have been meant to be the place where experiments can be conducted on the nature of Shi'ism and Sunnism. The roots of the problem in Lebanon, then, go beyond local affairs and involve regional and international affairs. That is why solving the Lebanese problem has been difficult. It also explains the statements which are made by Arab or international leaders. One gets the feeling that these statements are religious exhortations more than they are political pronouncements. And when we know that Arabs or easterners have had enough of religious exhortation, we realize that such pronouncements are quite meaningless, and have no effect whatsoever.

Who Settles the Battle?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] When General Aoun launched his war of liberation last March 14, your reaction to this war, as expressed in your well-known statement, was that Islamic groups would become a decisive tool in the battle against the leaders of East Beirut. What means will you use to bring about this decisive outcome which you expect, and how can such a decisive outcome come about?

[Fadlallah] That is not exactly what I said. I know that the situation in Lebanon is such that none of the parties has what it takes to decide the matter against the other. What I am saying is that a war in Lebanon becomes a reasonable and not a useless course of action if its nature is such that it can generate a settlement whereby either the Islamic or national party can resolve the situation militarily. This seems to be unlikely, however. But if this is a matter of trickery and lying about military targets, thereby essentially reducing the matter to a mere game of murder to change or shift some political conditions or to

make up for lost time, then the war would be unreasonable and inhumane. That is, if it is conceivable that because of its objectives, war can be humane.

Although it offers some advantages in confronting some dangers, we do not condone this Lebanese war because it is a war with no prospects and because it failed to get to the root cause of these problems. We do not condone this war because all it does is to create a few disturbances for more than one project dealing with the nature of the Arab-Palestinian problem or the nature of Islamic questions in the region.

I used to say that war should be decisive: Either one party should have what it takes to decide its outcome by overcoming the other party and bringing the war to an end, or war should not become an option at all. War should be ruled out when everyone feels that a military approach cannot solve the political problem in Lebanon because there is more than one local, regional, and international hurdle in this matter. I believe that we are facing the second possibility because a decisive settlement to the problem is unlikely.

What Is New in the Question of the Hostages?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] It seems that the question of American and Western hostages who were kidnapped in Lebanon has been at a standstill for some time. Recently, however, it has been reported that the hostages will be released in return for a ransom payment. What does the spiritual leader of Hizballah think about that when international reports affirm that he is responsible for the kidnapping of western and American hostages?

Shaykh Husayn Fadlallah smiled before answering my question.

[Fadlallah] I cannot go into details about this matter because I do not have those details, even though the international media has been trying to inject my name in this matter. It seems to me, however, that the question of the hostages is bigger than that.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] How is that?

[Fadlallah] The question of the hostages has become tied up with international problems, especially after it was used advantageously by the United States when it turned it into a tool to stir up what it called "the war against terrorism." The United States used this war against terrorism as a front against all those who reject American policy in the region or the world. Thus, the question was transformed from a humanitarian problem, which is painful to individuals who may have had nothing to do with political problems in their country or in other countries, to a political problem that is part of the international game. That is why I think that any statements which are made about ransom are made for public consumption. They are meant to cover up the root causes of the problem in the public media and to give readers something to think about for a certain period of time.

I Mediated 40 Times

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Even if you were not actually the spiritual leader of Hizballah, you most certainly must have close relations with the 14 people who are reported to be the party's actual leaders. That brings up a specific question we would put to you. If you were not involved with Hizballah, why did you not intervene with the party's leaders to bring about the release of the hostages who had been kidnapped?

[Fadlallah] I did intervene more than once, and I spoke to many people in the party. I am revealing this to AL-MUSAWWAR for the first time. When I counted how many times I had intervened to mediate between those who were acting on behalf of the kidnapped and the leaders of Hizballah, I found that I had intervened more than 40 times since the phenomenon of kidnapping American and western hostages emerged in Lebanon.

The Islamic Condition

[AL-MUSAWWAR] After Imam Khomeyni's death you advocated a new term or theory which you called the Islamic condition. But you were severely opposed and harshly criticized by nationalists and Muslims as soon as you came out with that statement. How do you explain such an attack, and what do you mean by the Islamic condition?

[Fadlallah] What I mean by the Islamic condition is the Islamic movement which goes beyond the confines of a party that limits itself to a narrow circle of people whose party is based on fanaticism and on keeping others out. What I mean by the Islamic condition is the reality of Islam in its entirety. What I mean is a process that is set in motion so that Muslims in the world can live freely, determine their destiny, manage their fortunes, and become politically, economically, and culturally independent. The nation of Islam can thus become a nation living side by side with other nations. When I speak about the nation of Islam, I do not speak about a nation that shuts other nations out and becomes tenaciously fanatic. When I speak about the nation of Islam, I speak of a nation that is open to the issues of other nations and considers the matter of freedom as a whole because freedom is indivisible. When freedom scores a victory anywhere in the world, I benefit from such a victory in the action I take to liberate the world in which I live.

This is the reason why we think Muslims must be ruled by Islam. Nothing else can bring to Muslims a balanced life. When Muslims live under a non-Islamic government, they are caught in the bind of having to observe the law which imposes certain obligations on them. They have to perform the duties which the law requires them to perform, and these may be different from their legal obligations.

What I do is based on having an Islamic movement that is open to all the material world and to all the dispossessed in the world. Let's form an alliance with the dispossessed of the world. Let's form one front against

those who wish to force themselves on the material world. The Islamic condition I am talking about is one that includes all Muslims and is open to all the dispossessed in the world on the basis of Islamic thought, Islamic doctrine, Islamic action, and Islamic life.

The Pope's Visit Is Not in His Interests

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Why did you oppose the visit which His Holiness Pope John Paul the Second intended to make to East Beirut before the cease fire?

[Fadlallah] It seems to me that the political and security conditions which affect psychological conditions would not have allowed the Pope's visit to Lebanon to be productive because the war had transformed Islamic and Christian feelings and made them so complicated, they resembled a psychosis. Because of these psychological conditions, some people might see the Pope's visit as something that was being done to shore up one party against the other, especially since the Pope's recent statements about the Lebanese problem talked about the Christians as though they were being exterminated. The Pope spoke about Lebanese Christians in a manner that differed from the manner he used in talking about Lebanon in general. That is why the media interpreted his visit as an action that was being taken to strengthen the Christians' foothold after Christians were losing ground to the Muslims.

We believe that the conditions which are being experienced by Lebanon in the cycle of international and regional complications would not allow the Pope's visit to succeed whether or not security for the Pope's visit was available. A visit to Lebanon would embroil the Pope in the ongoing Lebanese dispute, and that would not serve the Pope's interests, nor would it serve Lebanon's.

Unfortunately, the pro-Christian media suggested that the Pope came to Lebanon to stand with the Christians, to experience their pain, and to review in general the actual situation in Lebanon. The Lebanese problem has become so sensitive that any party experiencing its own peculiar circumstances must be subtle when making any statement about Lebanon in general. This is because the Lebanese have become accustomed to getting to the bottom of what words mean, and they do not dwell on the superficial implications of words. This is especially true when we know that the Lebanese have had enough of this "general talk" in the world. Instead of considering the words that are being said, Lebanese people now look at the positions which are being taken.

The War Is Not Sectarian

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Some of those who have been observing affairs in Lebanon think that what is happening in Lebanon is nothing but a war between Muslims and Christians. Do you think that serves the interests of Islam?

[Fadlallah] The war in Lebanon has nothing to do with Islam or Christianity. Some of those who say this war is a Christian war do not believe in Christianity. They do not believe in Christian thought, in Christian conduct, or in Christian faith. And some of those who say the war is a Muslim war do not believe in Islam as profoundly as the Koran recommends they believe in it: as a body of thought and a doctrine of faith. Islam manifested itself in Lebanon as a political matter that has nothing to do with what faith is about. Similarly, Christianity manifested itself as a political matter that has nothing to do with faith.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] How then do you see the war in Lebanon?

[Fadlallah] The war in Lebanon is not a Lebanese war in the real sense of the word. It is rather a war which is being fought in Lebanon by others.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] How did those others who are not Lebanese succeed in transporting their war into Lebanon?

[Fadlallah] They were able to do that because of the sectarian regime. There are, as you know, many sects in Lebanon. Each one has its own special interests, its own ideas, and its own power, and that is what made Lebanon a sectarian community resembling a tribal community. In Lebanon each sect tries to put itself in a position of power facing the other sects so it can defend its own interests and retain its own lines. That is how outside forces, be they domestic or regional, were able to penetrate Lebanon. They used the ties they have with one or another sect to penetrate Lebanon. When we learn that charity, good deeds, and piety are not the reasons why outside forces do what they do, but that rather, they do that which serves their political and economic interests, [we can understand that the war in Lebanon is not the war of the Lebanese.] When we learn that Lebanon is the only country in the region where political action in every sense of the word as well as freedom of the press can sometimes become chaotic, we realize that Lebanon is the only country which is qualified to become the place where all Arab or international conflicts can be brought up. This is because Lebanon is the place where pent up emotions can be aired. Had these emotions and feelings remained in their areas, an explosion would have been the result, and that would not serve the interests of the region's international reality. That is why the Lebanese people, wittingly or unwittingly, became tools that were being used in the conflicts which exist in the area and which coincide with international conflicts. The war in Lebanon thus became a non-Lebanese war which was being fought by Lebanese people and Lebanese tools.

Not only do I deny the notion that this war is one between Muslims and Christians, but I think that if it were possible—and this would be unrealistic—for everyone to leave Lebanon alone, the Lebanese people would be able to solve the problem of the president's or the prime minister's powers. They would be able to settle

all this foolish political and administrative talk. Were they to abide by the designations they gave these matters, they would be able to solve the problem very easily. They may face complications in their attempts to solve the problem, but their efforts would not lead to such a destructive war whose violence and brutality have been without precedent.

Why Should the President Be a Maronite?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Legal authority in Lebanon has acquired Maronite characteristics. Nationalists and Muslims in West Beirut are not the only ones who think that, but also Christians who happen not to be Maronites. Those Christians think that because they are not Maronites, they are denied the privileges which Maronites enjoy. What do you think about that?

[Fadlallah] Maronites have such a far-reaching hold on political reality in Lebanon, one feels there is a Maronite octopus sitting on top of every part of the administration. One also feels that non-Maronites, even if they were Christians, do not really run the places which they are supposed to run forcefully and effectively unless they have the approval of the Maronites.

The insistence that the president, the army commander, and the chief of public security be Maronites and the insistence that Maronites hold the significant foreign service positions of minister of foreign affairs, general director of foreign affairs, or ambassadors affirm the notion that Lebanon is assuming a profoundly Maronite character even though it professes to have the shape of a pluralistic, sectarian regime.

Lebanon has something that no other country in the world has. In Lebanon the president has the right to interfere in all political issues, but he is not held accountable for any one of them. It is the Council of Ministers which is accountable. The president of the republic in Lebanon is like a king. In a royal regime a king is upheld and protected, but he is not held accountable. The president of the republic in Lebanon is upheld and protected, but he is not held accountable even though he does interfere even in small issues in Lebanon. It is this matter which gave the Maronites such a deep-seated control in Lebanon. If a general referendum were to be held among Christians in Lebanon, we would find Christians rejecting the authority of the Maronites just as we would find Muslims rejecting it. In fact, Christians who reject the Maronites' authority may even outnumber Muslims who do because Muslims have the freedom to speak forcefully, but Christians who are not Maronites do not have such freedom since they are constantly being warned against the large Islamic tide which will engulf them.

A State for Human Beings

[AL-MUSAWWAR] From your point of view what political reforms do you think are required to solve the 14-year old Lebanese problem?

[Fadlallah] We are asking essentially that Lebanon become a state like other states. As far as his rights and duties are concerned, a Lebanese citizen must have no other quality entitling him to those rights and duties but that of citizen or human being. That is what we mean when we use the term a state for human beings. And even if we were proposing Islam as we do, we do not do so in a sectarian language. We do not wish to turn Muslims into a group that has the upper hand over others in Lebanon and uses its position to persecute them. Instead, we propose Islam in the same way Marxists propose Marxism. We propose Islam as a solution to a human problem. If people find our proposal persuasive, we would thank God for helping us succeed. If they do not, we would put Islam in action. Our political activity would be inspired by Islamic concepts just as the political activity of others is inspired by the concepts of what they believe in.

That is why we are calling for the president to be elected by the people not by parliament. That is why we want the president to meet no other criterion but that of being a Lebanese citizen. Positions are to be held by those who are qualified to hold them.

Why should I be hurt if a Muslim heading a department were to act on behalf of one or another person and to use everything in his power to hurt Muslims? Because we have been plagued by Muslims who experience the Maronites' political privileges more than the Maronites themselves.

That is why we are calling for the fall of the sectarian regime and the birth of a regime which would treat citizens as citizens without any difficulty. Everyone would then be able to present his ideas: Islamists would set forth their Islam; Marxists would set forth their Marxism; and Arab nationalists would set forth their nationalism. An intellectual and political movement would be set in motion by what is set forth and, ultimately, the scene will be dominated by who is actually the strongest not by who has legitimately held power in the past.

The Dialogue of Members of Parliament in al-Ta'if

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Are we to understand that unless the reforms you just mentioned are carried out, the war in Lebanon will go on in spite of the meetings which Lebanon's members of parliament are now holding in al-Ta'if to find a way out of the crisis in Lebanon?

[Fadlallah] It is inconceivable to me that the war would have to go on if these demands are not met. Demands are not met by means of war; instead, war would cause the situation in Lebanon to break down further.

That is why we believe that the political conflict and the ongoing dialogue in al-Ta'if between Lebanon's members of parliament, be they Muslim or Christian, could produce results. With the application of some pressure and with intervention to reconcile opinions or lead the

way to a solution that might achieve equilibrium for the country the dialogue in al-Ta'if could produce results.

I am saying that the war does not have to go on if these demands are not met. In that case, the problem which will present itself if these demands are not met will lie in the big opportunity which all foreign powers will have to force a protraction of the war to cover their regional or international interests. This is because in any country the problem that emerges when reforms are proposed and demands are made is that gaps are created and used by others to penetrate the country. When we propose reforms and make demands, we do so for two reasons: first, the material reality of the future in Lebanon is sound; and, second, we want to close all those windows through which seasonal or permanent winds coming from abroad may blow. Such winds put Lebanon under pressure, and they serve neither the Arabs' interests nor the Muslims' interests.

Who Are You Specifically?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] You are always denying that you are the spiritual leader and spiritual guide of Hizballah. Who are you then specifically?

[Fadlallah] I am an Islamic thinker. My political career and my cultural and social life have been devoted to Islam. I write, and I offer guidance and direction. My heart, my mind, and my work embrace all those who work for Islam without discriminating between one school of thought and another. That is why I may be described in some cases as one of the fathers of the Islamic Movement, which is not restricted to Lebanon. The Islamic Movement may not be restricted to some Arab areas either; it covers much more than that.

The title of spiritual guide or spiritual leader was given to me by western intelligence agencies which tried to hold me responsible for much of what is being attributed to Hizballah because I am the prominent figure around whom the so-called Islamic fundamentalist groups rally. The mosque where I used to pray was tantamount to a "mobile mosque" from which revolutionary Islamic slogans or directives emanated. An amusing incident occurred when a French news agency requested that its office in Beirut interview me. I agreed provided the news agency did not say that I was the spiritual guide for Hizballah. I told the news agency that the description did not apply to me, and I said that I respected myself and would not give myself an attribute that did not apply. This has nothing to do with not owning up to my responsibilities because I have the courage to assume responsibility for anything in which I was involved. The French news agency's representative in Beirut told me that he would have to check with his main office in Paris. Hours later, I was told that the news agency did not accept my condition. In this regard then, the matter has been considered. My thoughts and my actions embrace the intellectual aspirations of Hizballah as well as the

intellectual aspirations of the Islamic Unification Movement, the Islamic Group, and many Islamic movements in the Islamic world.

I do not confine myself to a narrow circle of Muslims. My actions cover the whole range of Islamic viewpoints. This is what I meant when I spoke of the Islamic condition. I respect Hizballah, and I believe that much of what is being attributed to it is not true, but I am not one of its decision makers, and I am not part of its organization even though I enjoy the affection and the confidence of many of its members. I have a broad base of support in Islamic circles and even in those circles which are described in sectarian terms as Sunni, Islamic circles.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Today Iran is affirming its willingness to negotiate with Washington to find a solution to the problem of the hostages who are being held in Lebanon. What do you think about this matter, and what is your role in it?

[Fadlallah] When Imam Khomeyni was still alive, Tehran used to ask Washington to take the first step and renounce its policy of hostility to Iran by releasing the funds which have been frozen in U.S. banks and the weapons which the Shah had purchased from the United States. But the United States, which does not want another "Irangate" on its hands, will have none of that.

It seems to me that reasonable positive movement on this matter is possible, but I do not believe that it will happen as quickly as the media say it will. Nor will it be as destructive as the media suggest it will be.

If you ask me about my role in this matter, I would tell you that I have no role. I am a modest, simple man. How can I be considering and looking into major international relations?

[AL-MUSAWWAR] It is being noticed that different Islamic groups in Lebanon are trying to force themselves on others. In this regard it is being said that taking hostages and forcing people to abandon their embassies in Beirut are nothing but the products of the Islamic problem or condition. So are the political assassinations of political leaders and prominent activists. Lebanese people from all the different sects attribute the spread and entrenchment of this condition to your efforts which, they say, started immediately after your arrival in Lebanon in 1966. Mr Husayn Fadlallah, how do you answer these charges?

[Fadlallah] Those who make accusations have to provide incontrovertible proof and evidence to support what they are saying so that a negative or a positive judgment can be made about these accusations. The political scene in Lebanon is perilous in its accusations and perilous in its conflicts and disputes. That is why everyone makes all these charges against the Islamic condition without offering any evidence to support his allegations.

It has been said that the Islamic condition which I founded in Lebanon was responsible for the departure of

embassies from West Beirut. My answer to that charge is that it is the complex security situation, which is known to everyone in West Beirut, that is responsible for that. The Islamic condition bears the least responsibility for that. Beirut has always been under pressure from certain security conditions. The Islamic condition has not been controlling Beirut by putting the city under pressure to justify the statement that it is responsible.

Do you know that more than one intelligence agency has tried to take advantage of poor security in West Beirut and to carry out more than one specific political plan? We know that the intelligence service of the Phalangist Party tried everything to strip the western area of slogans and state owned institutions. I personally looked into what was happening behind the scenes of the explosions which did occur, and I found that they came from outside West Beirut or from some of those who were taking action in West Beirut.

The matter of kidnapping Americans and westerners and taking them hostage is something else. Those who become engaged in that practice may operate under political premises which see hostage taking as "somewhat legitimate." In the struggle of the dispossessed against the imperious, hostage taking may be somewhat justified when the dispossessed lack the means for resisting a challenge and confronting one siege with another of their own.

Some people may think that hostage taking is legitimate and realistic. They may think that major political problems might require that there be a few minor human tragedies. This is what happens not only in Lebanon, but also all over the world.

With regard to political assassinations we reject them as an approach to political conflict. We think political assassinations have many disadvantages even though they may have a few advantages.

I am the one who established and set up in Lebanon 80 percent of the Islamic condition since I came to this country. Let me say this to those who accuse the Islamic condition and hold it responsible for political assassinations: You have to come up with the legal and political evidence to support your charges. Such evidence must be presented clearly to Lebanon's public opinion so that the matter of political assassinations with regard to the nature of the locations and the nature of those who were assassinated can be looked into with the public. It is not enough to make such accusations. Anyone can use the same approach and make accusations from another perspective.

My Dispute With Iran

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Let me ask you, Mr Husayn Fadlallah, what is the nature of the ongoing dispute between you and the leaders in Tehran?

[Fadlallah] Most Shi'ite Muslim scholars in Lebanon and elsewhere studied in al-Najaf under Mr Abolqasem

Khoi'i, who was my teacher. I am the general representative of the figure of authority in Lebanon. This does not, however, prevent me from having other relations with other figures of authority. And just as I had relations with Mr Khoi'i, I had intellectual, spiritual, and legitimate relations with the late Imam Khomeyni and with other Shi'ite figures of authority.

I believe that when Mr Khoi'i took a stand in Iraq, he was prompted to do so by his feeling that he could not offer Iraq something useful. Muslim brothers in Iran may have believed that Mr Khoi'i could have found a better way, but they, of course, understand why he thinks the way he does.

I personally do not believe that he can do in Iraq what he could do in Iran.

The Post-Khomeyni Problem

[AL-MUSAWWAR] What do you think about the problem of the Iranian Revolution, especially after the departure of Imam Khomeyni?

[Fadlallah] The Iranian Revolution is facing two dilemmas. The first dilemma manifests itself in those who differ with it about the shape of an Islamic state, and the second manifests itself in those who try to destroy the revolution and bring this experiment to an end. I will add nothing more to that.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Given the stated facts about Islam in Lebanon, we notice that each Islamic sect has its own group. There is a Supreme Shi'ite Islamic Council; there is an Islamic Meeting (which is Sunni); there is the Amal Movement, which is headed by Nabih Birri; and there is a group for those of the Druze faith. The question is this: Do all these facts add up to a major opportunity for carrying out a unified Islamic action, or do they add up to some kind of sectarianism that interferes with such a unified action?

[Fadlallah] Islamic action in Lebanon is still divided among numerous organizations and movements in which the sectarian element is mixed with the Islamic element. Thus, a unified, Islamic political plan is still missing. Instead of such a plan, we've had a group of different and conflicting views.

In real terms Islamic action still carries the imprint of sectarian division. There are Islamic actions which are carried out by Shi'ites, and there are Islamic actions which are carried out by Sunnis. At the same time there is a sense of wariness which makes taking action a sectarian phenomenon. Thus, Sunnis do not respond to Islamic actions carried out by Shi'ites in a manner which would show that both sects belong to the whole nation of Islam. In return, Shi'ites do not react to actions carried out by Sunnis.

This sectarian reality about Islamic action in Lebanon was imposed on many personal feelings vis-a-vis a few political issues which assume a certain sectarian nature.

Consequently, local, regional, or international positions were divided on a sectarian basis, and that led to a hardening of the Islamic political position on a sectarian basis. Therefore, the likelihood of having a dialogue between Islamic sects does not exist.

I am still of the opinion that Islamic action has an incomplete political view of the facts in Lebanon with regard to the goals of such action, the means by which it is carried out, its surroundings, and the nature of its relationship with other political, non-Islamic tendencies. Islamic action also has an incomplete political view with regard to other issues which could make Islamic action an approach that is practical and close to reality.

If you were to look closely at the slogans which are being bandied about on the Islamic scene in Lebanon, you would find them to be ambiguous and almost unintelligible. You would find them approaching the realm of the absolute where people look for boundaries that define for them where things begin and where they end on a given course. The secret in this may lie in the mystical mentality which to this day controls religious thinking and religious views about life and especially political life. It was my hope that everyone on the political scene in Lebanon know that in politics nothing happens in the realm of the abstract and the mystical. In politics, a realistic, objective view is a must. In politics the real roots of every problem must be faced squarely, while the mystical is attributed to divine benevolence.

I think that Islamic action in Lebanon is still subject to many unilateral reactions which force themselves on the scene. These reactions are like fits in the sense of shock, provocation, and tension which they leave behind and in their failure to take into account the negative consequences they can have on major issues.

Such an emotional climate created an opportunity for many non-Muslims to penetrate the Islamic scene, where they are trying to take advantage of some of the compatibility which exists between their premises and Islamic premises. Their only goal is to take advantage of the Islamic climate to serve their own interests.

I am still affirming that this emotionalism, which manifests itself in Islamic politics as rhetoric, improvised military actions, or martyrdom as a personal choice rather than a practical plan, is what makes an Islamic action tantamount to a stab in the dark with unknown consequences. No matter what is said about the enthusiasm and uproar such actions create, all that is soon lost in mazes that are groundless and baseless.

Let me tell all those on the Islamic scene in Lebanon that reason does not succumb to emotion. Instead, it tries to reason with emotion and to regulate its steps so it would know how an action will end before knowing how it will begin.

Syria's Withdrawal Is Not Realistic

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Without referring to the intra-Lebanese dialogue which is taking place now in al-Ta'if, what do you think about the matter of Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon?

[Fadlallah] Syria's withdrawal from the greater Beirut area or from Lebanon is not realistic. These are the complications of the political reality in Lebanon.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Why is that?

[Fadlallah] Because the Syrian role has become so much a part of the Lebanese problem, Muslims or nationalists now think that Syria's departure from Lebanon would put them at Israel's mercy. They think the consequences of Syria's presence in Lebanon could disrupt the consequences of Israel's presence in the country by standing in the way between Israel and the Lebanese group which gave in to Israel and made it easy for Israel to invade Lebanon.

We do not wish to go into the matter of whether Syria's presence in Lebanon is good or bad, but we do want to say that in reality many of the political terms deal with that matter. That is why the equation which is being proposed now is that reform is essential so that Muslims can be assured that their demands for reform are actually being considered. National reconciliation is essential so that Muslims can lead a normal life just as Christians lead a normal life.

Besides, to Syria, the Lebanese problem represents a condition that touches upon security because of Israel's presence in Lebanon and because of security in Lebanon's political conditions in the face of what is happening.

There is another point in addition to this and that. The movement of the Syrian role in Lebanon overlaps that of the local role on the Islamic and national scene. It represents a certain movement within the range which is carried out by the international alliance on the Lebanese scene. Thus, although all international declarations call upon Syria to withdraw from Lebanon, Syria's withdrawal is not considered an international possibility at the present time because there is an organic link between the political reality of the Lebanese question and the political reality of the anticipated solution to the Palestinian problem.

Syria's departure from Lebanon, then, would mean closing or starting to close the Lebanese file, so that when it comes to Syria, nationalists cannot apply pressure on the Arab scene or offer incentives for Syria's withdrawal. Syria's departure from Lebanon would force the international community to confront the question of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon squarely. This is something about which no international decision has been made. Not even an American decision has been made in that regard. That is why the problem of what Syria's presence

in Lebanon represents is not easy because it is associated with more than one local, regional, and international location.

Writer Analyzes Application of al-Ta'if Agreement

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[Article by Dr 'Isam Ni'man]

[Text] What change for the Lebanese will be brought about in the function of the political regime following the reforms that have been approved in the al-Ta'if reconciliation document? Have the reforms agreed upon rectified the flaws in the constitutional and political practices that have been the subject of complaint? Have they achieved the principle of separating between the authorities and realizing balance cooperation between them? Have the people indeed become the source of power? Has Lebanon actually become a "parliamentary democratic republic"?

First and foremost, and before answering these questions, the matter calls for applauding the approval of the national reconciliation document by the [Lebanese] deputies at al-Taif meeting, because the approval of this document is an effective contribution to strengthening peace and is the right approach to reunifying the government as well as a clear declaration freeing the civilian society that has been the captive of war and the warlords during the past 15 years.

It is unimportant after that whether or not the reconciliation document has answered all the questions and demands that have been raised by the opposition and reform movements since 1943, since the old and new opposition forces can, if they wish, continue their struggle in a peaceful and democratic manner. The war was against reform because in fact it is against peace and democracy.

Going back to the beginning: What about the reforms that have been approved?

First, it must be pointed out here that the document will become effective only after it is translated into a draft constitutional law the approval of which will result in the amendment of certain provisions of the constitution currently in force. Until the constitution is amended, its present provisions will remain in force.

However, for the purpose of this study, I will assume that the expanded Chamber of Deputies will accept these reforms and will amend the constitution in a manner compatible with their content. What change in the function of the political system will there be for the Lebanese?

The opposition and the reform movements have constantly complained of two flaws in the text of the constitution and political practices. These are: The powers of the president of the republic that enable him to

be a ruler without being responsible, and the dominance of the executive authority over the legislative and judicial authorities.

According to Article 17 of the constitution "executive powers shall be invested in the president which he will assume with the assistance of the ministers in accordance with the constitutional provisions". According to this article and as a result of the powers it vests in the president, he exercises several other jurisdictions, most important of which are:

- The right to propose laws (Article 18).
- The right to publish laws passed by the Chamber of Deputies (Article 51).
- The right to request reconsidering a law passed by the Chamber of Deputies and to halt publishing such law until it is discussed again and approved by absolute majority (Article 57).
- The right to classify a bill as urgent and to issue a decree, with the approval of the prime minister, providing for implementing it within 40 days from the day it is submitted to the Chamber if no decision on it is taken. (Article 58).
- The right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the prime minister's approval (Article (55).
- The right to appoint ministers and nominate one of them as prime minister and to dismiss them (Article 53).
- The right to negotiate the conclusion of international treaties and to ratify them (Article 52).
- The right of private pardon (Article 51).

It is true that Article 54 on one hand and the constitutional practice that produced its own custom, and having the power of constitutional provision on the other, oblige the president and the ministers concerned, together with the president, to sign decrees issued. Yet the president remains the actual and all influential ruler capable of controlling the government, the administration, the Chamber of Deputies and, in most cases, to guide them all in the direction he wishes. This pervasive influence, which makes the regime quasi-presidential, is due to three reasons:

The first is that the president is not held responsible since Article 60 of the constitution provides that "no responsibility shall fall upon the president in discharging his duties, except in case of violating the constitution or committing high treason." It is to be noted that the law on the Higher Council before which the president and the ministers are tried (Article 80) was never issued despite the passage of 63 years since the Lebanese constitution was issued and came into effect.

The second is the fact that the presidency is the constitutional institution with the longest life since the president is elected for 6 years (Article 49) while the Chamber of Deputies speaker is elected for 1 year. The renewal of his term remains subject to conflicts and bargaining inside the Chamber of Deputies itself. As for the prime minister, theoretically he remains at the mercy of

whether or not he enjoys the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies. His stay in power depends on the president's satisfaction with him, particularly since he can relieve him from office any time he wishes (Article 53).

The third and most important reason is the fact that the successive election laws, on one hand, and the weakness of the party system, on the other, made the emergence of a majority and a minority in the Chamber of Deputies almost impossible. What always happened was that Chambers of Deputies in Lebanon have been a living mosaic of individuals, and of doctrines, politics, domestic issues, and vested interests of various colors that seldom constituted a firm political formula or a clear majority or minority. Therefore, the president, whom the constitution empowers to appoint the head of the government (Article 53), seeks to reconcile between the various conflicting parliamentary trends and views in such a manner that eventually he would create a circumstantial majority which he would turn over or transfer to the person whom, for political reasons or interests, he decides to choose as head of government. In view of the weak party system on one hand, and the deputies' need for the benefits and services that the state departments made available to them and their supporters, on the other, they more often tend to be enticed by and fall under the influence of the president, he being the established and the longest existing constitutional leader among constituents of the regime. Initially, this happens without having sectarian or ideological significance, but rather for an evident political need. But the conflict of political interests soon lends the entire process a sectarian character. The president, who customarily is a Maronite Christian, will not escape being accused of bigotry and discrimination by the head of the government, who customarily is a Sunni Muslim, if he caused his dismissal from office by instructing the majority of deputies (normally loyal to the president) to withdraw their support for him. This is in addition to mismanagement by Maronite presidents, as opposing Maronite leader Raymond Iddih asserts, who often resorted to bias, favoritism, and selfishness, thus causing the greatest harm to the presidential role and its credibility.

On the opposite side, the constitution hardly mentions the head of government and, therefore, gives him no powers of any significance. Article 33 mentions him in passing in connection with the president appointing ministers and naming one of them prime minister! It is evident from these two articles that the head of government, according to the constitution, is the head of ministers and not chairman of the council of ministers because the actual chairman of the council of ministers is the president who always chairs the council meetings and in most cases controls and guides its policies and decisions.

Despite the fact that the president is the actual ruler of the state and the real chairman of the council of ministers, under Article 66 he is free of any responsibilities.

This constitutional and political discrepancy has always been the subject of complaint by Sunni Muslims heads of government and, indeed, by the rest of the opposition and reform forces that have been demanding a better constitutional formula for a better balance between the authorities and in responsibilities.

However, the dominance of the presidential role in the constitution and in practice, did not prevent the expansion of the prime ministry's jurisdictions and the evolution of custom that conferred on it authority and influence and, indeed, created a kind of duality within the executive authority represented in the president and the prime minister. However, objectivity calls for pointing to the prominent roles that reached such level of influence and status equal to that of the president that some heads of government played following independence in 1943. Examples: Riyad al-Sulh in the forties (President Bisharah al-Khuri era), Sa'ib Salam in the sixties and seventies (presidents Fu'ad Shihab and Sulayman Franjijah era), Rashid Karami in the sixties (President Charles Hilu era), and Salim al-Huss (presidents Ilyas Sarkis and Amin al-Jumayyil era).

But what reforms has the [reconciliation] document introduced to the provisions relating to the executive authority and the jurisdictions of both the president and the government, and what effect will this have on the work of the political regime?

The reconciliation document has wrested from the president the monopoly of executive authority and entrusted it not to the prime minister alone, but to the council of ministers collectively. The president is no longer able to relieve the head of government from his post. But the entire government can be regarded as having resigned if it lost more than one third of its members, if its head died, when the term of office of both the president and the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies begin, when confidence in it is withdrawn by the Chamber of Deputies, or, naturally, when the prime minister resigns.

The document also makes the prime minister the actual chairman of the council of ministers that now has the right to meet in a headquarter of its own. It is true that the president may chair the council of ministers in case it goes to his headquarters in order for him to attend its meeting, but this chairmanship does not give him the right to vote.

According to the reforms provided for in the document, dismissing ministers can only be done according to a decree signed by the president and the prime minister. Also dissolving the Chamber of Deputies can only be done by a cabinet decision at the president's request according to certain conditions.

There is no doubt that investing the executive power in the cabinet and naming the head of government by the president, in consultation with the Chamber of Deputies speaker on the basis of binding parliamentary consultations, confers upon the prime minister's position substantial power and influence. But all this remains

embodied in the provisions and not in practice as long as the election law remains unchanged, because one of the most important sources of power of the president, indeed absolutely the most important, is that deputies elected to the Chamber of Deputies are not bound together by a firm political or partisan link. Which, consequently, prevents the emergence of a more realistic majority. As long as the Chamber is divided into numerous, disunited, and capricious individuals and groups, the president—the established and the longest living constitutional leader among his colleagues—will continue to be able to intercede with the deputies in order to form in one way or another a majority from among them. Such a majority rallies around him or is linked together through him by strong or weak selfish ties, thus enabling him to guide this majority in the matter of electing a head of government and of administering the government affairs.

Shifting the center of gravity in administering the executive authority and exercising its jurisdiction from the president to the prime minister or their partnership in all this depends on radical amendments in the election law (and the law of parties and political associations). This would ensure the emergence of a majority and a minority in the Chamber of Deputies, or major and established parliamentary blocs that could decide in the light of their programs and interests, separately from the president or independently from him at least, the question of electing the suitable head of government, and decide the general policy it wants him to pursue. Unless the leader of the natural majority in the Chamber of Deputies or the person elected by the coalesced blocs is the candidate supposed to be nominated head of government, the president—even after the constitution is amended in order to absorb the reforms provided for in the reconciliation document—will remain the most prominent and the strongest leader in the executive authority and more capable than anyone else to direct it. It is to be borne in mind that the reconciliation document referred to the need to legislate a new election law that "would ensure proper popular representation," but without specifying any date for approving and implementing it.

Naturally, with the legislative authority remaining weak because of the deputies being disunited and incapable of forming an established and guided majority, the principle of the balance of authorities and their independence will remain theoretical because the executive authority, in the person of the president, will remain in a stronger position to influence and guide. This in turn will raise doubts about the accuracy of the claim that Lebanon is a parliamentary democratic republic when the parliament, because of the backwardness and deficiency of the election law, remains incapable of playing a political and legislative role independent from the influence of the executive authority.

But what reforms has the reconciliation document offered in order to ensure that the executive authority will not dominate the legislative and judiciary authorities?

According to the documents the legislative authority has been somewhat strengthened by the following:

- The provision that the Chamber of Deputies is the legislative authority exercising total control—primarily political control—confers upon the legislative authority power and influence.

The election of the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and his deputy for the duration of the Chamber of Deputies' term, that is for 4 years. There is no doubt that this amendment gives greater stability and firmness to the speakership, enabling the incumbent speaker to assume an influential political role through participating in forming the required majority to elect a head of government, ensure confidence in it, help in the passing of bills, and oversee control on government functions.

The approval of 50-50 membership of the Chamber for Muslims and Christians gives the Chamber of Deputies balance and effectiveness that enables it to play an influential role on the political and legislative planes. However, these reforms are insufficient to remove the dominance of the executive authority or its great influence on the legislative authority with respect to:

- The exploitation by the president, and consequently the government, the state disunity of deputies and their inability to form a harmonious and firm opposition because of the backwardness of the election law, in order to influence the process of circumstantial bloc-forming in the Chamber of Deputies and to prejudice the deputies' legislative role.
- The nonseparation of the legislative authority from the executive authority will preserve the latter's right—even if within specific conditions—to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies.
- The nonseparation of parliamentary membership and cabinet membership, which forces the deputies to curry favor with the persons of the executive authority in their endeavor to seek a cabinet post or services for themselves and their constituents. If there were a true party system and a democratic election law it would have become possible to overcome the evils of nonseparation between parliamentary membership and cabinet membership.

As for the judicial authority, the reconciliation document did not provide a decisive reform that would ensure its independence from the executive authority because the laws in force still give the government the fundamental and decisive role in the appointment, transfer, and promotion of judges. These matters should have been entrusted to the higher judiciary council provided it is elected by the judges themselves. The role of the minister of justice should be restricted to guiding the public prosecution. But the document has called for the election of a specified number, and not all of the members of the higher judiciary council, by the judiciary body. Perhaps the motive behind this deficient reform is to correct any denominational imbalance that might

arise from the election process by using the power of appointment in order to compensate the deprived or excluded groups.

Also the document deprived the judiciary of the right—to which it is entitled more than any other quarter—to raise matters before the constitutional council that has the jurisdiction to control the constitutionality of laws. The document should have established a court for this purpose and not a council whose procedures to raise matters is controlled by the government. Is it possible that community leaders have a right to raise matters with the constitutional council while the judges, who are entrusted with upholding justice and applying the provisions of the law, do not?

Under the present constitution the Lebanese regime has one head, namely the president. But the regime that will come into being after the reconciliation document reforms are incorporated into the constitution will have three heads: These are the president of the republic, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, and the head of government. In theory, and until the election law is amended, these three heads seem to be equal each in his own sphere in terms of position, jurisdictions, and influence, something that allows the establishment of some kind of balance between the authorities and the chief elements of the regime and, consequently, some form of harmony. It also permits some kind of clash taking place if there is division in moods, interests, and aspirations between these heads.

But if the election law is not amended in the manner mentioned above, then the Lebanese regime will remain with one head, namely the president who, despite his jurisdictions being trimmed, is capable of overshadowing the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and the government and to keep the initiative in his hands. God only knows!

SAUDI ARABIA

Petrochemical Production Reportedly Booming

90OL0101A Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ
in Arabic 22 Oct 89 p 9

[Article: "Report on SABIC Operations"]

[Text] The Saudi Arabian Basic Industries Corporation, SABIC, which includes petrochemicals, cement, iron, and steel, achieved total production this year of approximately 10,954,000 metric tons, including ethylene used in the Ibn-Hiyan complex. Total income amounted to 14 billion Saudi riyals.

SABIC's recently published annual report indicated that profits rose significantly. After the zakat [Islamic tax] share of more than 3.5 billion was deducted, net profits for last year totaled approximately 1,078 billion riyals.

The report added that 1988 was a year of "integrated production" in SABIC. In July 1988, the Ibn-Zahr complex was added to the list of production groups, making a total of 15 complexes in production. The Ibn-Zahr complex has added a new product of enormous health benefits to the list, aside from its economic returns. The material is butyl ether trimethylene. The advanced world has begun to add this material to gasoline used as fuel, in order to limit noxious emissions that pollute the environment and are injurious to the health of mankind and all other creatures.

Regarding the petrochemical complex, another vital material was added in March 1988. It is a member of the plastics family required for the plastics industries in the kingdom. It is polyethylene, used for plastic products of high density, low linear density, multi-vinyl chlorides, and melamenes.

The report stated that the SABIC factories supply its marketing network with four main thermoplastics, preparatory to producing a fifth plastic, which is polypropylene. Moreover, SABIC's products have increased to some 22, with a feasibility study underway to manufacture and market alpha linear olefenes, which is one of the ethylene derivatives.

The report also stated that during this year, SABIC has continued its plan of increasing the production efficiency of the rest of its complexes, which was reflected in rising production averages. As an example, iron production has increased, and SABIC's steel factory production has leaped to approximately 1.5 million tons of reinforcement rods and bars. This capability was sufficient for about 88 percent of local requirements.

Moreover, in June 1988, the chemical company celebrated the occasion of producing its 1 millionth ton of polyethylene. This total production took 3 years and 7 months to accomplish, since production began in 1984.

The report stated that the Industrial Research and Development Center, which is currently under construction in the second industrial city in Riyadh, has gone through the design phase and is now in the stage of implementation of engineering, construction, and logistic operations.

The report pointed out that the center's first stage, expected to be in operation by the end of 1990, will encompass an experimental plant to study polymers, including polyethylene resins. The plant will have a daily capacity of 1 ton.

In the second stage, research activities will be expanded to include multi-chloride vinyls, polystyrenes and polypropylenes, in addition to expansion in the area of applications and uses.

With regard to a third stage, the center's responsibilities will multiply to include, in addition to previously mentioned chemicals and petrochemicals, concentration on

development and diversification of products to meet market changes and the multiple needs of clients.

Furthermore, this stage particularly means improvement in manufacturing methods and increased production efficiency in SABIC's plants, and reinforcement of its integrated activities and competitive capabilities.

According to the SABIC report, this year has seen a significant rise in the volume of SABIC's market sales. Excluding partners' sales, and sales of iron, fertilizer, steel, and gas, SABIC's sales have totaled more than 4 million metric tons of various products, valued at approximately 7.4 billion Saudi riyals. SABIC has also developed an effective marketing system. In 1983, SABIC established two marketing companies, with Riyadh as their headquarters. They are SABIC for Marketing and SABIC for Marketing Services. The former is charged with marketing the products of SABIC industries and other related industrial products, while the latter carries out various integrated services, including shipping, transportation and supply, in addition to technical services both before and after sales.

SABIC has strengthened this marketing system with offices, branches, warehouses, and advanced service centers both inside Saudi Arabia and abroad in different locations of the world. Moreover, SABIC has supplied them with the most efficient means of specialized transportation, and excellent diversified laboratories, testing facilities, and workshops for the development of products.

SABIC has also established two branch marketing companies in the United Kingdom and the United States. The former is SABIC Marketing-Europe, headquartered in London, and the latter is SABIC Marketing-America,

based in Stamford, Connecticut. In addition, two offices for marketing services have been opened in Tokyo and Hong Kong, as well as 14 warehouses and service centers in strategic locations in various parts of the world.

The report added that this year, for the first time in Saudi Arabia, production of butyl ether trimethylene began in SABIC's Ibn-Zahr complex. The last quarter of the year was the first time this product has been exported to the United States and Europe.

It was also noted in the report that this material has enormous health benefits when added to gasoline used in vehicles and other machines, because it limits environmental pollution originating from exhausts.

The expectations are that North America, as a vast market for automobiles, represents a principal market for this material. SABIC has called for the establishment of warehouses to store this material in the New York harbor area, so that SABIC Marketing in America can market and distribute it there.

The report also stated that the SABIC production group includes 15 complexes, 10 of them for the production of petrochemicals and plastics, which constitutes basic services for vital industrial sectors, and three complexes to produce cement, which fulfills the growing needs of the agricultural plans and plays a prominent role in increasing the green areas and achieving national food security. In addition, there are two complexes for reinforcement rods and bars. The products of these complexes are meeting growing acceptance in world markets, because of the application of modern industrial techniques and methods. Furthermore, SABIC is anxious to have its complexes adhere to the application of precise international systems and standards in the area of industrial safety, with the goal of safeguarding persons and property and protecting the environment from pollution.

AFGHANISTAN

Mujahidin To Form Commission To Settle Problems

46000039 Tehran *TEHRAN TIMES*
in English 22 Nov 89 pp 1, 5

[Article by M. Firozi]

[Text] Tehran—High-level talks are currently underway in Pakistan between Iran and Pakistan-based Afghan Mujahideen alliances for the formation of broad-based interim government, informed sources said here yesterday.

The sources said that the Iran-based alliance has sent a delegation to Pakistan in order to resume and promote the talks initiated in Tehran early this month between the two alliances.

Afghan interim government President Sibghatollah Mojaddadi was recently here to hold talks with the Iran-based Afghan Mujahideen who earlier refused to join the Peshawar-based government because of the dispute between the two alliances on power sharing.

Mojaddadi and Iran-based alliance leader Muhammad Karim Khalili signed an agreement which is popularly known as "Tehran statement." The agreement called for setting up of a commission representing the two alliances to sort out the existing problems among the Mujahideen.

The objective of the commission was to pave the way for the Iran-based alliance to join the interim government.

The members of the delegation from the Iran-based alliance comprise: Mohammad Karim Khalili of the Nasr Organization, Mohammad Ali Javid of the Islamic Movement, Ali Zamani of the Hizbollah, Hussein Hashemi of the Islamic Force, Ehsan of the Jihad Guard, Mohaqeq Afshar of the Islamic Unity Call and Rasheed of the Unity Council. The Unity Council last month joined the Iran-based alliance thus increasing the number of alliance from eight to nine.

It is believed that the Iran-based Mujahideen leaders will enter into a comprehensive dialog with their Pakistani counterparts.

INDIA

Gandhi Letter to FRG Green Party Leaders Reviewed

46001096 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN*
in English 21 Oct 89 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, 20 October—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has said India recognizes the "very real problems which exist in Tibet" but feels that a "viable solution can only be found through a dialogue with the Chinese Government," report UNI and PTI.

In a letter to Miss Petra Kelly and Mr Gert Bastian, leaders of the West German Green Party, the Prime Minister said "we welcome the initiation of steps" to settle the problem through dialogue. He said India recognized Tibet as an autonomous region of China. "This has been our consistent policy since then. At the same time, on humanitarian grounds, we have provided refuge to by far the largest number of Tibetan refugees anywhere in the world."

The two West German parliamentarians who were here in August to attend an international conference on Tibet, had expressed disappointment at the stand taken by the Indian Government on the Tibet issue.

Mr Gandhi said "we have helped Tibetans in India to preserve their unique religion and culture. Very few countries, despite their rhetoric about human rights, have been willing to do a fraction of what we have done for Tibetan refugees."

Mr Gandhi said the recent award of the Nobel Peace prize to the Dalai Lama was an overdue tribute to the spiritual and moral values, including that of non-violence, symbolized by him.

He underscored the importance of finding a solution to the boundary problem with China and said there were indications that Beijing was prepared to find a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement through negotiations.

"For the first time, there is a possibility that we could make a genuine progress on this issue," he added.

He said India desired a climate of peace in its neighbourhood which would enable it to devote its energies to development.

Referring to the recent internal problems in China, he said India was saddened at the developments. However, solutions to internal problems have to be found by the Chinese people and the Government.

Referring to the launch of the Agni missile, Mr Gandhi said it was a demonstration to test the technology developed by Indian experts. "We have not decided to produce or deploy these missiles."

In this context he referred to India's unblemished record of preventing nuclear and missile technology proliferation.

Responding to a concern expressed by the peace activists on India becoming the largest weapons importer, the Prime Minister said, it had to do so because the country had not as yet achieved full self-reliance.

India has effectively reduced its defence budget this year and would like to further reduce this expenditure, if the situation permitted.

Mr Gandhi also underlined the need to focus greater international attention on environment protection.

Threat to the environment could be substantially mitigated by development and diffusion of "environment-friendly" technologies, he said.

Referring to his proposal to set up a planet protection fund, he called for contributions from all except the least developed countries.

Gandhi Announces Plans To Benefit Farmers

46001101 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN*
in English 13 Oct 89 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 12—For the second consecutive day today, the Prime Minister announced in the Lok Sabha a wide-ranging package this time to benefit the farmer and the agriculture sector.

While announcing the election eve "lolly" to the lusty thumping by ruling party members, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said the highest priority would be given to agriculture in the Eighth Plan. In fact, some of the project and measures announced today would commence immediately.

Paying rich tributes to the Indian farmer, he said two major modifications would be introduced in the method of computing the cost of production while fixing support prices for agriculture produce. It would take into consideration the wage cost on the basis of minimum wage for agriculture or the actual wages paid, whichever was higher. It would include the cost of labour input of the kisan at a higher wage, reflecting the managerial and entrepreneurial role of the kisan.

He announced increase in procurement prices of a number of products these include paddy (price per quintal going up from Rs175 to 185), coarse cereals like jowar bajra, maize (from Rs 155 to Rs 165), kharif pulses like tur, moong and urad (from Rs 400 to Rs 425), black soybean (from Rs 305 to Rs 325) yellow soyabean (from Rs 350 to Rs 370) sunflower seeds (from Rs 500 to Rs 530) F-414 and H-777 cotton (from Rs 540 to Rs 570), and Jute M-5 Assam (from Rs 280 to Rs 295).

The number of procurement centres was to be increased to ensure that no kisan had to travel more than 10 km from his village. To tackle the problem faced by farmers growing perishable commodities, storage facilities including cold storages would be expanded and a special programme was being instituted for the extension of institutional credit on attractive terms to open more cold storages in rural areas.

To improve credit facilities for farmers, it has been decided to earmark with effect from the rabi season, a special line of credit of Rs 100 crores through cooperative and commercial banks which will be earmarked especially for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Scales of finance for short-term production credit will be revised annually.

A special credit regime is being instituted for farmers in rainfed areas covered by watershed development programmes. It will operate on the basis of ensuring the availability of credit through a three to five year cycle so as

to even out the inherent risks involved in good and bad monsoon years. Also, pass books and agricultural credit cards will be extended to kisans to help them in easy withdrawal of production loans from cooperative and commercial banks.

Mr Gandhi announced that he was taking over as chairman of the Indian Council of Agriculture Research as agriculture research was "simply not getting the attention or priority it needs." The aim was two-fold in this "take over." To generate appropriate technologies for various sub-zones in order to modernize agriculture in each area of the country and to take up a special time-bound programme in research and development of hybrids to cover rice, maize, jowar, bajra, arhar, cotton and oil seeds. Results would be demanded within five years and the implementation of the research programme would be monitored at the highest level.

The national Agricultural Credit Relief Fund would devise a comprehensive relief policy based on the special characteristics of production and the severity of damage in different agro-climatic zones. Through the rescheduling of loans and waivers of interest and principal in defined circumstances, the credit needs of farmers in different zones would be kept in view.

In the Eighth Plan, irrigation waters would be made available on an assured basis to an additional one crore hectares of land in the command areas of canal projects. The authorities concerned would be held responsible for reaching water to farmers in assured quantities and at the right time. Also, one million tubewells and dugwells were to be constructed every year. And 500,000 hectares would be covered annually for the programme of desilting and maintenance of village tanks, beels, bounds and ponds. The productivity of unirrigated land was to be enhanced through effective watershed development and in situ moisture conservation. This programme would extend to five million hectares during the Eighth Plan.

Mr Gandhi said 2.5 million hectares of usar and barani land would be reclaimed at the rate of 500,000 hectares a year. Plasticulture held vast potential for increasing agricultural productivity. It was proposed to extend incentives for the installation of sprinkler or drip irrigation systems to all farmers. During the Eighth Plan, 100,000 additional sprinkler systems and 100,000 drip irrigation system would be installed to optimize the use of scarce water resources.

Reportage on Events in, Relations With U.S.

Rocket Technology Sales Opposed

46001109 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 1 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by R. Chakrapani: "U.S. Against French Sale of Rocket Technology to India"]

[Text] Washington, Oct. 31—The Bush administration is pressuring France not to allow the sale of liquid rocket

propulsion technology to India and Brazil for their space launch vehicles, saying that such a sale could give them the capability to develop advanced long-range ballistic missiles eventually.

This was revealed in the course of official testimony yesterday before a joint meeting of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittees on Arms Control and U.S. trade policy. The U.S. has already refused to license the export of ground-testing equipment to India for its space programme.

At yesterday's session, the discussions were held to review the working of the missile technology control regime (MTCR) that seeks to prevent proliferation of ballistic missile capabilities in excess of 300 km in range and 500 kg in payload.

The regime to which seven missile powers—U.S. Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom—are signatories came into force in 1987. Like the London-based nuclear suppliers group, the MTCR establishes guidelines to the seven countries on the question of curbing missile proliferation.

Third World threat: At yesterday's hearing, both Mr. Richard Clarke, Assistant Secretary of State, and Henry Sokolski, Deputy for Non-Proliferation Policy at the Pentagon, expressed concern at the threat posed by a dozen or so Third World nations in the Middle East, South West and South Asia and Latin America that had acquired missiles or were engaged in developing ballistic missiles.

"Their presence in politically tense regions can be destabilising," said Mr. Clarke. "More frightening, some countries will have the ability to arm them with chemical, biological, or nuclear warheads.

Of South West and South Asia, Mr. Sokolski said, "Iran and Iraq's possible acquisition of longer-range stand-off missiles could undermine the prospect of any future allied peacekeeping missions and further intimidate Indo-Chinese relations."

"Proliferation harms the course of peace and will make restoring it much more difficult if a war breaks out. It is for these reasons that the administration is closely examining its own exports and those of other missile suppliers.

"In this regard, we have taken a strong stand against the proposed French sale of liquid rocket propulsion technology to Brazil and India for their space launch vehicle programmes."

Military relevance: Mr. Sokolski said liquid rocket propulsion was of "military relevance." The U.S. missiles such as the V-2 and early ballistic missiles—IRBMs and ICBMs—and Soviet Union's long-range military missiles used rocket propulsion systems. More important, he

said, space launch vehicles technology was interchangeable with that of military missiles. In fact, many of U.S. and Soviet missile launchers were derived directly from deployed military systems.

Mr. Clarke said some ten countries possessed indigenously developed ballistic missiles and by the end of the century that number could double.

He said the U.S. had worked closely with other members of the MTCR to curb the supply of missile technology, both as a policy goal and in specific cases of concern. Under the MTCR guidelines, the seven missile nations were seeking to control the export of equipment and technology related to missiles capable of delivering a 500 kg payload to a range of 300 km.

"These parameters were agreed upon for technical and geo-political reasons. They cover systems such as the Indian Prithvi, the Argentine, Egyptian Iraqi 'Condor' missiles and the Soviet 'Scud'."

Supercomputer Sale Viewed

46001109 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 18 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Washington, October 17 (PTI)—The sale of another supercomputer to India is now uncertain with opponents of the sale within and outside the U.S. administration expressing fears that it could be used for nuclear weapons and missile programmes, press reports here say.

The issue of India's request for the sale of another supercomputer was recently raised by the Indian ambassador, Dr Karan Singh, at the cabinet ministers' level.

Apparently to satisfy nations like India to have the satisfaction of having a real supercomputer capability, a clever attempt is being made by the commerce department to revise definition of a supercomputer, the reports noted.

They said one recently proposed change would lower the threshold at which a computer is defined as a supercomputer. Cray, which dominates the U.S. supercomputer market, does not want the artificial competition with supercomputers which are not supercomputers.

However, *THE NEW YORK TIMES* quoted government officials as saying that in recent weeks, the administration had moved closer to approving some of the supercomputer sales.

The Pentagon, the daily said, had dropped its opposition to selling a supercomputer to the institute of technology in India and to Embraer, a Brazilian aerospace corporation. No decision has, however, been reached on the sale of a supercomputer to the Technion Institute in Israel.

Comment on Human Rights

46001109 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 28 Oct 89 p 14

[Editorial: India Baiting Again"]

[Text] Some of the comments made on Indian issues during a Congressional hearing on South Asia on Wednesday show a persisting animus this country nursed by certain U.S. legislators. Though the focus was New Delhi's human rights record, it soon became clear it was just a convenient stick to beat India with. Under questioning by the sub-committee chairman, Mr Stephen Solarz, the critics made it plain that their chagrin with India stemmed with the offence it causes them by being allegedly an "apologist" for the Soviet Union in international forums and from the way India and the U.S. are very often at odds in the U.N. India's "intransigence" on trade and investment issues, the reason for action initiated against it under the punitive provisions of Super 301, is another major irritant. In sum, Indian policies to safeguard its security and its economic interests are a major factor motivating the tirade launched to get even with New Delhi. The Khalistani lobby, well represented at the hearing, came in handy because its allegations of civil rights abuses opens up yet another promising line of attack. It needs hardly pointing out that many of the same Congressmen have turned a blind eye to the well-documented cases of Israel's treatment of Palestinians in occupied territories; Pretoria's brutal suppression of the restive Black majority, the atrocities perpetrated by the El Salvador regime and many others. The double standards make a mockery of the moral posture adopted by these self-appointed champions of human rights.

There have indeed been unfortunate lapses in dealing with the terrorist threat in Punjab and elsewhere, as extensively recorded in the Indian media and by citizens groups anxious to uphold democratic values. It is not to be missed however that the terrorists are guilty of utterly outrageous behaviour as strikingly brought out by the skeletons unearthed in the sacred precincts of the Golden Temple, though nothing was said about this by those moralising at the Congressional hearing. It is something to be thankful for that they did not have it all their own way because of what was said by Mr Solarz and Mr John Kelly, the highest state department official for the region of which India is a part, to dispel misconceptions. However, India will have to do more in its own defence to counter the dangerous nexus between the Khalistan lobby and the visceral Indian baiters.

**Reportage on Indo-Soviet Ties in Industry,
Aviation**

Joint Venture Products

46001098 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 18 Oct 89 p 6

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, 17 October—The Soviet Union has asked India to buy back suitable Soviet products to

overcome the problem faced by joint ventures in that country in repatriating profits. It has also sought the financing of the joint ventures on the same pattern as Soviet joint ventures in India are being financed.

The proposal could create snags in the way of expediting the joint ventures, 550 of which have been approved, but are being implemented slowly because of various problems.

A related Soviet decision, which requires all Soviet units making imports to exports an equivalent value of goods, is also blocking the rapid development of Indo-Soviet trade. The decision is part of the restructuring of economic policies under Perestroika.

India has urged the Soviet Union not to insist on what they call unit- to-unit balancing since it is not possible for Indian exporters to make equivalent value of imports as these cannot be identified easily.

The Soviet consumer goods do not have a ready market in India and the importers will find stocks piling up. Hence they are reluctant to abide by the Soviet terms. This is, however, holding up the rapid rise in the two-way trade turnover.

The Soviet assurance that the decision would not be enforced in India's case has not materialised yet even though officials in that country concede that it is not practicable. The hitch apparently is that if a concession is made in India's case, other countries will also expect similar treatment.

The new areas for setting up joint ventures in the Soviet Union that have been identified include chemicals and electronics. These can be set up if suitable buy back arrangements are made. Since these are not always possible for the Indian market, a proposal is being studied to buy back goods from the Soviet Union for sale in third countries.

An additional problem noted by the Indian businessmen is that goods bought back from the Soviet Union and imported into the country will attract normal customs duties. These will make the goods costlier and more difficult to sell in the country.

The Soviet Union has urged the government to exempt such imports from imposition of duties on the ground that Indian goods imported by it as part of buy back arrangements are exempted. No decision has yet been taken on this.

India and the Soviet Union have agreed to raise their trade turnover by 250 percent within the next few years and good progress is said to have been made in achieving the target because of political backing.

Several practical hurdles, however, arose which are creating problems. Both the countries hope the problems will be settled through negotiations. A special committee

has been formed to identify new forms of economic cooperation to tackle such issues.

Civil Aviation Program

46001098 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 20 Oct 89 p 15

[Text] Moscow, 19 October (UNI)—India and the Soviet Union are developing a long-term programme of co-operation in civil aviation under which India will buy and lease new Soviet civil aircraft, and receive airfield radio equipment.

The two countries will also co-produce planes and have joint airlines, reports APN.

Aircrafts constitute more than 80 percent of Soviet engineering exports in India. In 1989, the Soviet Union will supply 190 million Rubels worth of aircraft.

Air India and Indian Airlines are contemplating the purchase of the new TU-204 and IL-96-300 planes. The two countries have signed a protocol and an intergovernmental agreement is expected on co-production of components, engines and flight simulators for these planes.

The possibility of fitting TU-204 with Indian engines instead of the Soviet engines is being discussed. Later on they may be installed in the modified IL-96, which will have a capacity of 350 to 370 passengers and have a longer fuselage. The new variant is expected to be used in the Soviet Union and India, and exported to third countries.

A programme for co-production of the TU-334 and IL-114 passenger planes is being drawn up. Electronics, finishing materials, interior design, design videos and computers and ground equipment for these planes will be developed jointly.

The Soviet Union and India have signed a protocol on co-designing and co-production of new materials, involving high-tech materials and articles like aluminium-lithium alloys for aircraft, carbon-carbonic composites for brake disks, titanium alloys and quality iron powders.

The best co-operation prospects lie in cosmonautics. The Soviet Union has proposed that India participate in the reusable aerospace system project including the AN-225 (MRIA) carrier aircraft and an orbiter plane with an outboard fuel tank for putting crews and spacecraft into the near-earth orbit. Tests will begin in 1995.

The Indian-proposed aerospace hyperplane project is interesting. It is a hypersonic one-stage plane with a hydrogen-fired air-breathing jet. Most important, at a certain altitude and speed, the plane liquifies air oxygen by a special rectifier and fills its tanks with it for later use. The useful payload mass grows ten times and the orbital injection cost decreases 10 to 30 times.

The hyperplane project requires a serious effort. For example, in the creation of a special three-component power plant, consisting of one turbo-jet, one ramjet and one liquid-propellant jet. Basic research in materials science, air oxygen liquifaction and accumulation has to be carried out.

Possibly, the United States, Britain and France, developing their own aerospace planes, will join in the hyperplane project.

Soviet Technology May Help Lengthen Missile Lifespan

46001105 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 7 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Soviet technology is likely to be used for giving the missiles a new lease of life. Missiles with the Indian Army, which have a critically short life span as compared to the enormous cost of manufacturing and maintenance, will now have longer expiry terms, reports PTI.

The Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering (EME) has engaged its best brains to extend the life span of various kinds of missiles in the army arsenal which remain battle worthy for only six to seven years.

"No armed forces can afford to throw away and disband costly equipment. We strive to reclaim all types of military equipment through modern technology," says EME Director General Lt General K.K. Mehra.

Soviet technology is likely to be used for giving the missiles a new lease of life and keeping them battle fit for more than seven years, Maj Gen Amarjit Singh, commander of the headquarters Technical group EME, told reporters.

The Corps of EME, initially set up as a maintenance and repair unit, is today engaged in frontier technology areas of electronics and computers in its bid to keep the requisite military gear in proper shape and extending the life of missiles is a part of its continuous endeavour.

The Corps celebrates its 46th anniversary and 6th reunion on 15 October.

Using the latest in the front-ranking technology of integrated circuits, lasers, opto-electronics, thermal imaging, optical fibres, hydraulics and hydro-pneumatics, the Corps of EME has been playing a vital role in ensuring the Indian Army's cutting edge in the South Asian region.

The corps primarily draws its highly qualified personnel from institutions like Military College of Electronics and Mechanical Engineering and EME school.

These institutions train engineers in the field of military technology, research and development and technology management as related to the life cycle concept of equipment management involving the three golden principles of reliability, maintainability and availability.

The Corps of EME has been playing a distinguished role in the country's military history starting from the J and K Operation of 1947-48 in the battle of Zojila.

During both the engagements against Pakistan in 1965 and 1971, the corps played crucial roles.

Even today, the Indian Army will acknowledge the vital contribution of the Corps of EME towards the success of the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force] operations in Sri Lanka.

A major challenge which the EME faces today is keeping pace with the fast changing military hardware and software technology. The corps has identified its major thrusts, that is to modernise the EME workshops, specially the base ones with a view to make them centres of technological excellence.

The idea, Lt Gen Mehra said, is to have scientifically designed repair system which works as cost effective force multipliers, which speedily recycles the equipment casualties and puts them back into action.

The corps has contributed enormously to sports and adventures. The legendary Milkha Singh, the uncomparable Maj H.P.S. Ahluwalia and Col J.K. Bajaj, the first Indian to reach the South Pole, have come out of the EME hatchery.

PRC Minister Quoted on Border Problem, Other Matters

46001099 Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 18 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by D.P. Kumar]

[Text] Beijing, 17 October—There could be no better way than both India and China moving ahead in a spirit of understanding and mutual cooperation to resolve the border problem between the two countries, Mr Liu Shu Qing, Vice Foreign Minister of China, said in an interview here today.

Mr Liu, a senior Minister who has handled Asian affairs for more than a decade, sounded the warning that imposing of conditions by either side would not lead to any solution. "If we try to impose some conditions, naturally you will not accept them. If you seek a unilateral concession from our side, then we will have difficulty in facing our own people (if we make that concession). We think that a solution to this problem can come easily if we seek it through mutual understanding and cooperation," Mr Liu explained, implying an adjustment in settling claims by either side.

Asked if the two sides were moving towards that mutual understanding Mr Liu answered: "Actually an answer to this question depends on the Indian side. There is no great difficulty on the Chinese side, although we have to persuade the Chinese people in believing that this is the only way to settle the issue. So if India accepts the

principle of mutual accommodation and engages in discussions it will be all for the good."

Was India responding adequately to this suggestion? Mr Liu said: "I believe the more India appreciates this principle the better it will be since there is no other way." Asked whether he thought a solution was taking a long time to come, Mr Liu remarked: "I cannot say. We have gone through eight or more rounds of meetings and we do not want to repeat them. We intend to solve this problem in this generation and not to leave it for our successors."

Earlier, Mr Liu spoke of the visit to China by Mr Rajiv Gandhi and called it a significant step in bettering Sino-Indian relations. He said: "right now our Vice-Premier, Mr Wu Xie Qian, is visiting your country and have learnt that he was very warmly received and his visit to Delhi has been pleasant and successful. The exchanges have been mutually beneficial, though there still remains a lot to be done." He was happy that Mr Gandhi and Mr Wu were hopeful of finding a solution to the border problem in the time to come.

On questions related to awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to the Tibetan spiritual leader, Dalai Lama, Mr Liu said China thought it was quite an inappropriate move since it opposed the original purpose and aim of the prize, awarding a contribution to harmony and good-will among the people. The committee ignored the point that Tibet was a sensitive issue and was a region and an internal affair of China.

He said: "The fact is that the Dalai Lama has not done anything to promote peace and harmony among the people. He is engaged in splitting China and demanding unity among the different nationalities. So we think that by awarding him, the committee has encouraged and supported these activities. This interference in our internal affairs has hurt the feelings of the Chinese people and they have expressed their indignation at this.

"Negotiations between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama will go on and channels are open. The point is what to talk about, that is, whether we should talk about the preservation of the country and the solidarity of different nationalities or about the so-called independence of Tibet. If the last named issue is to be covered, then negotiations cannot take place. Independence or semi-independence or independence in disguise will not be accepted. Actually, the talks between the Chinese Central Government and the Dalai Lama is our internal affair and no other Government or party has a right to interfere."

On the subject of the possibility of the USA withdrawing the economic sanctions imposed on China after the Tiananmen Square incidents, Mr Liu angrily disapproved of any country interfering in the internal matters of China. "It is completely unreasonable for any Western country to impose an economic sanction. I think they have miscalculated the ability of China (to stand up to it) for China has never yielded to any foreign pressure. The

victim of the sanction is not only China but they themselves. Such sanctions will obviously create difficulties for China but we can overcome them. Now it seems the Western countries are correcting their erroneous policies but till now they have not completely done away with those, but we do not mind if they remove these sanctions sooner or later because we have no need for them (for their help).

Mr Liu said: "Economic cooperation can be only on the basis of equality and be mutually beneficial. Mutual cooperation can take place only if it concerns both sides. They come to invest here only because they can make profit. Naturally their investments will also have channels of development, otherwise we will not let them come. So if they impose economic sanctions they cannot invest here and they will have no profits to make. China is a very large market and hence, a lucrative place for Western capital. Imposing sanctions will harm them only. Their attempts to force China to change its policies formulated with the support of the people will not succeed."

Details of Protests Against Pakistan Statement

46001104 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] The Ministry of External Affairs on Friday summoned Pakistan high commissioner Niaz A. Naik and lodged a strong protest against a statement issued in Islamabad expressing Pakistan's "deep concern" at killings in Assam recently.

Describing the statement as "interference in our internal affairs," the Ministry of External Affairs spokesman said neither Pakistan nor any other country had any locus standi in the matter.

Such statements, the spokesman said, were neither in keeping with the Simla agreement nor with the efforts being made by India as well as Pakistan to normalise relations. India high commissioner J.C. Dixit has also taken up the matter with the Pakistan foreign office, he said.

Such utterances were against the interests of the two peoples and of peace and stability in the subcontinent, the spokesman added.

The Pakistan foreign office spokesman had expressed concern at the October 4 incident in Assam concerning Muslims and stated that Indian Government should take appropriate steps to safeguard their lives and properties.

Siachin talks deadlocked: Pakistan Minister of State for Defence Ghulam Sarwar Cheema has said that while formal and informal contacts with India were still on to resolve the contentious Siachin issue, there appears to be a deadlock "for the time being," adds PTI from Islamabad.

"I suppose meaningful talks (on Siachin) may be held after the Indian elections," the Minister told the weekly MAG in an interview.

Asked how he viewed the Siachin problem, Mr Cheema claimed that the Indian strategy, perceived until now, had been to "inch forward in the unoccupied areas, and by virtue of such possession, lay claims on their permanent absorption."

"No country can physically guard every inch of its soil. Rightly or wrongly, the Siachin sector was devoid of troops. This tempted the Indians to walk in a few years ago and now they are dilly-dallying on vacating it," he said.

Mr Cheema said, "We know, the world knows and even the Indians know that Siachin is a part of our homeland and if we have to be there till infinity, we will be there."

Asked whether Indians were really serious to resolve the Siachin issue, he said, "I suppose so, because it is hurting them more."

To a question on what option Pakistan will have if India did not agree to leave Siachin, the minister said Insha Allah, they will have to vacate it, otherwise, the answer to your question is obvious."

It may be recalled that Pakistan army chief, Gen Mirza Aslam Beg had on September 6 claimed that the Pakistani forces were capable of pushing India south of Siachin.

Delhi Rejects Fiji Charges Against Ambassador

*46001091 Madras THE HINDU
in English 2 Nov 89 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 1—The Government of India today expressed 'surprise' at the charges levelled against its Ambassador, Mr. T.P. Srinivasan, by the Fijian authorities. According to the External Affairs Ministry spokesperson here, the Fijian regime had communicated its 'displeasure' at some of Ambassador Srinivasan's recent statements describing them as 'apparent interference' in Fiji's internal affairs.

The Government of India rejects these charges as totally baseless, the spokesman said. What Mr. Srinivasan was attempting to do was to 'calm the feelings of the people of Indian origin in Fiji' after some 'misguided elements' burnt down a gurdwara, mosque and two temples recently, he said.

The spokesperson said Mr. Srinivasan was merely trying to emphasise the need for measures for restoring inter-racial harmony in Fiji and showing respect to all religions. Principled opposition to racial discrimination, wherever it occurred, was central to India's foreign policy. 'This cannot be deemed to constitute interference in the internal affairs of any country,' the spokesperson stressed.

Human, political rights: However, India could not 'close its eyes' to the overriding need to maintain and support the human and political rights of all the people of Fiji,

including those 'who have long maintained close and warm ties with India, among whom were many of Fijian origin.'

The spokesperson said it was 'not easy to understand' the Fijian authorities 'decision' to ask the Indian Ambassador to leave by November 3 and to downgrade the level of the mission. He pointed out that India had already announced the transfer of Mr. Srinivasan back to the headquarters, after completion of his normal term of duty in Fiji. Mr. V.B. Soni, who has already arrived there and will be in charge of the mission as Charge D'Affaires after Mr. Srinivasan leaves.

UNI reports from Singapore:

Speaking to UNI on telephone from Suva, capital of Fiji, this morning, Mr. Srinivasan said he will be in Sydney for a fortnight before reaching New Delhi by the middle of the month.

Stand on SAARC Summit Deemed a Blunder

46001090 Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 15 Oct 89 pp 1,7

[Article by Manash Ghosh]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 14—There will probably be no annual summit meeting of heads of Government of the seven member states of SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] in Colombo this year because of the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections in India. According to highly placed diplomatic sources here, India has officially sought the postponement of the SAARC summit till next March because of its preoccupation with the coming elections.

These sources point out that the decision seeking postponement of the summit was taken at the highest level which includes Mr Rajiv Gandhi, his principal secretary, Mr B.G. Deshmukh, and other senior officials at the Prime Minister's secretariat. The decision has already been conveyed to the Sri Lankan and Pakistani Governments and other member states of SAARC.

The postponement request is likely to break the cycle of not only annual summit meetings heads of Government as provided in the SAARC charter, but has also caused India tremendous diplomatic embarrassment and put her in a tight spot at the regional level. India is being accused by member states of deliberately breaking the cycle of the annual summit, which began with the first meeting in Dhaka in 1985, with the intention of breaking up this nascent regional body.

The Indian explanation that Mr Rajiv Gandhi would be too busy with his party's election campaign in December has not convinced the member states. Their contention is that if the Prime Minister could set aside four days to attend the recent NAM [Nonaligned Movement] summit at Belgrade and spare two days for the forthcoming CHOGM [Commonwealth Heads of Government]

meeting in Kuala Lumpur, there is no reason why he should not be able to find a day for the SAARC summit.

In Colombo, some member states consider the election theory a "specious argument" and are inclined to believe that the postponement request is an expression of the Indian attitude of taking this regional body for granted. Even Sri Lanka, which aborted last July's SAARC Foreign Ministers' meeting in Islamabad on the issue of the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force]'s presence in its territory, is now pointing an accusing finger at India for undermining the SAARC spirit.

What has surprised these sources is that India should commit such a major diplomatic blunder at a time when it is fully aware that the Sri Lankan Government is in no position to hold the summit for security reasons and also because of deepening political crises that beset the island state. Many wonder why India should take the blame on itself when in the normal course it would have gone to Colombo. These sources are amazed at India's generosity in bailing out Sri Lanka from a tight spot.

India has informally made its views known to the SAARC states that this regional body should not be turned into a forum of controversy by raising contentious bilateral issues at its various meetings. India has pointed out that anyone believing in the importance of regional cooperation should not suggest holding of discussions on bilateral issues at SAARC meetings as this was the surest way of paralyzing this regional body.

Information, Comment on Conduct of Elections

Election Commissioner Meets Press

46001114 Madras THE HINDU
in English 18 Oct 89 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 17—While polling to constitute a new Lok Sabha will be held on November 22 and 24 and, if necessary, also on a subsequent date, there will, however, be no polling in the 14 Lok Sabha constituencies in Assam and some of the snow-bound constituencies in the Himalayas in November.

Byelections to fill the existing nine vacancies in the Haryana, Kerala, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura and West Bengal Assemblies (four in Meghalaya and one each in the other five States) would also be held along with the Lok Sabha poll.

Announcing the polling dates at a hurriedly summoned news conference here this evening, the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. R.V.S. Peri Sastri, said if any other State Government indicated its desire to synchronise elections to the Assembly concerned, the Commission would arrange to hold a poll in such a State or States.

Commission fixed the dates: Maintaining that it was the Commission which, after taking various factors into consideration, had recommended the dates of the poll,

Mr. Peri Sastri said the Commission had started preparations for the next Lok Sabha elections in October last year itself. But with the amendment of the Constitution to give voting rights to 18-year-olds, preparation of fresh electoral polls became necessary. The updating of electoral rolls throughout the country except Assam was completed by last July.

Mr. Peri Sastri's remarks that it was the Commission which had suggested the poll dates helped to clarify the impression that the Government had chosen the dates on its own to take the Opposition by surprise. An Election Commission official said the Commission had no knowledge about any Cabinet decision. The Commission would hear officially about it only when the President issues the relevant notification.

(Technically in terms of Section 14 of the Representation of the People Act, it is the President who issues a notification fixing the polling dates on the recommendation of the Election Commission. The Cabinet decision this morning fixing November 22 as the date of polling was in the nature of a recommendation to the President, who is expected to put his signature to the necessary notification shortly.)

Law and order needs: Mr. Peri Sastri said the Commission had always to remain in a state of preparedness to hold elections. Several factors had, however, to be taken into account in fixing the poll schedule, the most important being the availability of forces for the maintenance of law and order. This had acquired unusual importance this time because Mr. Peri Sastri feared that the coming election "is going to be fiercely competitive."

Like many hands needed to pull the chariot of Lord Jagannath, the Election Commission would need the cooperation of all concerned, including the press, to ensure that the elections were conducted peacefully and in accordance with the law, he said.

The Election Commission had to interact with the Government for fixing the poll programme and had to ascertain its convenience, because the Commission needed the Government's assistance in conducting the election. The Government needed notice to make arrangements for the deployment of forces. The timing had to suit the availability of adequate forces, which might be committed elsewhere.

Opposition not consulted: Asked if the Election Commission had sought the views of the Opposition on the polling programme, Mr. Peri Sastri acknowledged that no such consultations had taken place. He was of the view that prior consultation with the Opposition was not necessary nor had such consultations taken place in recent times. Enough about the Opposition's views were known through the press and otherwise, and one reason which prompted the Commission to recommend the last week of November was the apprehension voiced in certain quarters that the democratic process might be circumvented.

The legal requirement of a minimum gap of 31 days between the issue of the notification and the completion of polling had been borne in mind, he said. The Commission's notification would be issued around October 23. He explained that Assam would not go to the polls simultaneously with the rest of the country as the electoral rolls there had not been updated yet.

The task in Assam: The revision of electoral rolls had been an arduous process in Assam but Mr. Peri Sastri is grateful to all concerned, especially the youth of the State and the administrative machinery, for their dedication. The Commission wanted to ensure that only citizens of India were enlisted as voters and non-citizens were not. Hence very detailed inquiries had been made in each doubtful case and records kept.

But he did not want to hasten the process unduly. He had consulted the Assam Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary, and they had suggested that the elections in Assam should be delinked from the rest of India. The electorate in Assam could be asked to elect representatives to the Lok Sabha some time in January. Some pending Assembly byelections in Assam and Jammu and Kashmir are also being put off for the time being.

Mr. Peri Sastri was unable to say if elections to the Karnataka or Punjab Assembly—both the States are under President's rule—would be held along with the Lok Sabha poll. It was for the Government to take a decision.

Electronic voting: The Chief Election Commissioner was questioned closely on the suspicion voiced by some sections of the Opposition that the electronic voting machine proposed to be introduced in the coming elections was not tamper-proof, and could be utilised by the ruling party to rig the poll. He pointed out that modernisation of the electoral system was a long felt need and if he did not seize the opportunity when it came his way, he would be blamed by his successors in office.

Some voting machines had been tried out successfully in 11 Assembly constituencies in different parts of the country in the past seven years. On receiving clearance from the Government that funds would be available for these devices the Election Commission placed orders for 150,000 voting machines. But in spite of their best efforts, the manufacturers would not be able to supply more than half the number in time for the next general elections.

Every possible step would be taken to ensure that the machines were tamper proof. He would welcome an independent panel of experts to look into the machines. Only when the Commission itself was absolutely sure and Opposition leaders like Mr. V.P. Singh were satisfied that these machines could not be misused to manipulate the poll verdict would he allow their use at polling stations, said Mr. Peri Sastri.

Identity card: The Chief Election Commissioner said it was now possible to introduce the multipurpose identity

card at a cost of Rs. 2 a card, but it was a gigantic project and a lot of preparatory steps would be necessary before such a card was made compulsory.

Mr. Peri Sastri, who was flanked by the two new members of the multi-member Election Commission—Mr. S.S. Dhanoa and Mr. V.S. Seigell—denied that they had been unilaterally foisted by the Government or that their appointment was linked with the coming elections. The Government had consulted him and he had given his approval for the expansion of the Commission, he said.

New Panel Members

46001114 *Madras THE HINDU in English*
17 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 16—The Election Commission was today strengthened with the appointment of two retired senior officials as Election Commissioners.

All these years, the Election Commission had only one member who was the Chief Election Commissioner. Even though the Constitution had provided for appointment of as many Election Commissioners as the President might fix from time to time this provision has been invoked only now. The Election Commission has been made a three-member body.

The two new incumbents are Mr. S.S. Dhanoa, IAS [Indian Administrative Service], retired Secretary to the Union Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and Mr. V.S. Seigell, IPS [Indian Police Service], retired Special Secretary in the Union Ministry of Home Affairs. They will have a tenure of five years.

The official announcement in this regard noted that the President had recently approved the strengthening of the Election Commission in order to cope up with the increased burden of work.

According to the provisions made in the Constitution with the strengthening of the Election Commission, the Chief Election Commissioner will function as Chairman of the Election Commission. He will however continue to be designated as Chief Election Commissioner.

'Timing inappropriate': Though the strengthening of the Election Commission was one of the proposals recommended by the Election Commission itself in the past, the Government's decision to act on this on the eve of the general elections has caused raising of eyebrows in political circles. According to one section of opinion, the timing of making the Election Commission a multi-member body when the election is round the corner is inappropriate. In this context it is pointed out that all these 40 years the credibility of the single member Election Commission had by and large not been questioned seriously. After becoming a multi-member body, the Election Commission may face practical difficulties in arriving at decisions at the time of conduct of polls when decisions will have to be taken on the spot brooking no delay.—Our Special Correspondent

Mishra Editorial Article

46001114 *New Delhi PATRIOT*
in English 18 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial: "A Correct Decision"]

[Text] Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his Council of Ministers have taken a correct decision that the elections for the ninth Lok Sabha be held next month. Though the Congress has an overwhelming majority in the eighth Lok Sabha, Parliament faced a continuing crisis following the resignation of over 100 members belonging to a wide spectrum of the Opposition from the House of the People. The Constitution allowed the Government to remain in office for few months more: say, till the life of the present Lok Sabha ended by January 14. This, however, would not have enhanced the dignity of the world's largest democracy. Absence of Opposition members, representing a fairly substantial segment of the people, seriously undermines the legitimacy of an elected legislature.

The decision to hold the elections without further delay is specially welcome in the context of the sad decline in the quality of political life during the last two years when the political atmosphere in the country became distressingly murky. There is no denying the fact that the functioning of the Government came under tremendous strain. The Prime Minister has been a target of personal attacks and the ruling party chose to retaliate by training the guns of character assassination at important leaders in the Opposition. Mudslinging became the name of the game and major problems facing the country receded in the background. Eruption of violence in large parts of the country acquired alarming proportions and the venom of communalism seemed to be undermining the social fabric. That the breakdown of communication between the ruling party and the Opposition was complete was demonstrated clearly when the entire Opposition combined against the Constitution Amendment Bills designed with the ostensible objective of devolving power to grassroot organisations. Lack of trust and erosion of credibility became the dominant features of political intercourse. Against this background, it is in the fitness of things that the people should be given an opportunity to give a fresh verdict.

The ball is now in the court of India's voters whose ranks have been augmented with the addition of 5 crores of young men and women. The elections to the ninth Lok Sabha promise to be a no-holds-barred battle. More important than the outcome is the manner in which the battle is fought. The combatants must realise that the credibility of the political formation that will be charged with governance of the country after the polls will depend on the faith of the people that the elections have been free, fair and peaceful. Those who, by words or deeds, cast a shadow over fairness of the polls would do irreparable damage to the democratic system. All political parties must, therefore, observe the rules of the game scrupulously.

India has witnessed eight national elections and 250 State elections in the last 40 years. But this, perhaps, is going to be the most crucial electoral battle. More than political parties, the people bear a heavy responsibility. Will they vote for parties or individuals? Will theirs be a positive or a negative vote? Will they opt for change or continuity? If so, will they see change in terms of individuals, policies, generations or candidates? Who will win—the better side or the lesser evil? The proverbial wisdom of India's masses is on test because the way they vote will determine the future of democracy and shape the destiny of Indian polity [as printed].

Papers Report Various Party Stands in Elections

National Front Manifesto

46001113 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 20 (PTI & UNI)—The five-party National Front today promised to track down the kick-back funds generated in Bofors and other dals stashed away in foreign banks, punish the guilty and eliminate corruption by dismantling the nexus between politicians and vested interests.

In its election manifesto, the year-old front promised to revitalise parliamentary institutions making them accountable to people, independence of judiciary and institutions like the comptroller and auditor-general and the election commission and comprehensive electoral reforms to curb money and muscle power.

The manifesto, which was finalised at a meeting of the presidium of the front today, declared its resolve to restore and extend the democratic rights of the people, practice true federalism, ensure equality and justice to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and special attention to the minorities—both religious and ethnic.

The presidium meeting was attended among others by the front chairman, Mr N. T. Rama Rao (Telugu Desam), convener, Mr V. P. Singh, Haryana chief minister, Mr Devi Lal (both Janata Dal), Tamil Nadu chief minister, Mr M. Karunanidhi (DMK [Dravidian Progressive Foundation]), Assam chief minister, Mr P. K. Mahanta (AGP [Assam People's Council]) and Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan (Congress-S).

Releasing the manifesto at a press conference, Mr Rao and Mr Singh said the front was committed to restoring the dignity of the nation and the people and to throw out the "corrupt and shameless" Congress government at the Centre.

Recalling that the Rajiv Gandhi government came to power on a sympathy wave and promised a "clean government" the document said the government "has scaled new heights in corruption and inefficiency."

It also described the Congress regime as an "irresolute government" unable to resolve conflicts and maintain

even minimal law and order, spiralling prices and man made scarcities, a currency shrinking in value and a mounting load of foreign debt.

Calling for an end to the conflict, violence and confrontation that had "divided and hurt" the nation during the last five years, the manifesto said a climate of tolerance and fraternity among all social groups must grow.

Reconciliation through dialogue was the need of the hour. "It shall be our foremost endeavour to bring about national reconciliation and provide the healing touch," it added.

The front said it stood for a fair deal to all people, particularly oppressed and marginalised scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, religious and ethnic minorities, and special attention to women.

Expressing its determination to achieve the goal of fulfilling the essential minimum needs of the people, the front pledged to include 'right to work' in the fundamental rights guaranteed in the constitution.

Promising to deploy more than 50 percent of the investible resources for rural economic development, the front assured farmers a guaranteed remunerative prices, a countrywide network of godowns, remission of debts, cheap credit, removable of unreasonable restrictions on movement of agricultural produce, crop insurance, security in land holding and strict implementation of land reforms and improved access to water resources.

The front guaranteed minimum wages and social security to agricultural labour as also to all workers in the unorganised sector of the economy.

Regarding the industrial sector, the front would introduce progressive labour laws and promote workers' participation in the management of industries to create conditions in which industrial democracy could flourish. A rational wage policy will be formulated, it added.

The front also promised to restore to the nation its dignity and confidence by achieving self-reliance in the economy by adopting policies which would free the country from "indiscriminate and highly expensive technologies and humiliating burden of fast escalating foreign debt and the abject dependence on multi-national corporations."

The five-party combine committed itself to full freedom of the media, autonomous corporations for television and radio and elimination of practices that lead to direct and indirect arm-twisting of the press. People's right to information shall be guaranteed, it said.

The front envisioned an awakened India free from poverty, ignorance and exploitation, with total involvement of millions in the struggle for national reconstructions.

"We pledge not merely a replacement of one set of rulers by the other, but an alternative model of governance,

based on federalism and decentralisation, institutional accountability, economic equality and social justice, human rights, freedom of communication and access to information for all citizens, and a responsive and responsible administration and through all this ensure the dignity of both the individual citizen and the nation," the manifesto said.

In the concluding remarks the manifesto said: "...Burdened by the price rise, hurt by violence, fractured by communalism and shamed by corruption at the top, the nation longs for relief. At last, the hour of change has struck, it is for the people of India to ring it in with their votes."

The front will provide a legal guarantee to ensure regular elections to panchayati raj institutions. It will secure, with the cooperation of the states, adequate representations in these bodies for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and women.

The front will immediately take steps to resolve the Punjab tangle. Laws that violate civil liberties will be reviewed. All those prisoners against whom there are no specific charges will be released.

Wide-ranging discussions will be held, without preconditions, with leaders of various sections of the people for a political solution to the Punjab problem. A round-table conference will be convened for this purpose.

Elections to the Punjab assembly will be held expeditiously. Discussions between Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan for settlement of disputes will be organised, the manifesto said.

CPI Manifesto

46001113 Madras THE HINDU
in English 1 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 31—The Communist Party of India [CPI] has nominated candidates for 56 Lok Sabha constituencies, though the final picture, as to the number of seats the party will actually contest, will only become clear after the last date for withdrawals. Consultations with the Janata Dal are to continue over the next few days with an eye on the resolution of the few remaining disputes with that party.

The CPI general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, who released both the list of candidates and the election manifesto, said his party's objectives were three-fold. The party wanted to ensure the defeat of the Congress(I), the isolation of the communal forces (mainly the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Muslim League) and the strengthening of the representation of Left democratic and secular forces.

Moreover, the party would work for the setting up of a government better than the present one and one which was based on the unity of left, secular and democratic forces broadly adhering to a stated programme. As a part of its manifesto, the CPI set out a 33-point programme of

social, economic and political objectives which such a Government should seek to fulfill.

Questioned about the stand likely to be taken by the party in the post-election phase when the CPI's support might be vital for the formation of a Government, the Central Executive Committee member, Mr. Homi Daji, categorically ruled out any possibility of his party supporting either the Congress(I) or a coalition in which the BJP was included. So long as the BJP and the Congress(I) were kept out of power the CPI would support any party or group of parties which agreed to implement the major part of the 33-point programme.

As a part of its policy of fighting both the BJP and the Congress(I) the party has set up candidates in a number of constituencies, including some which have fallen to the former party's share in its separate deal with the National Front. Confronted with the familiar question as to why the party was not fighting the BJP in all constituencies so as to be consistent in its policy. Mr Rao explained that the question would not have arisen if the proposal for a shift to the system of proportional representation had been expected. As things stood the party was not in a position to contest all the seats and they could fight the BJP only in those constituencies where they had some strength.

Talks with National Front: At present, the CPI has cleared the names of contestants for 56 seats, including 12 each in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and Bihar. However, discussions with the National Front would continue till the last date for withdrawals and some candidates could be asked to stand down in favour of Janata Dal men. Of the 12 seats in Bihar, the CPI claims to have already come to an adjustment with the Dal in eight and they expect the Dal to support their candidate against that of the BJP in Gaya as well.

The State unit of the CPI is also holding discussions with the Indian People's Front with regard to this seat. The party claims to have entered into adjustments with the Dal in three U.P. seats (Tehri, Banda and Ghazipur) and hopes to settle the Faizabad seat in their favour. The party has also put up candidates in Varanasi, Machhlishahar, Ghosi and Mainpuri and is considering the Barabanki seat but these are likely to be given up if the Dal concedes its claims to Faizabad.

All disputes with the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] have been resolved and the parties would put up a joint front in West Bengal (the CPI's share being three including Basirhat where Mr. Manoranjan Sur is the candidate), Kerala (4) and Andhra Pradesh(2). The CPI has put up a candidate in Chikmagalur in Karnataka and they hope an adjustment could be effectuated with the Dal here.

The CPI is to confront the BJP in one seat each in Himachal and Haryana (Hamirpur and Karnal respectively), three in Madhya Pradesh (including Bastar where the Dal is supporting the CPI candidate), two each in Maharashtra and Rajasthan and four in U.P.

In Orissa adjustments have been entered into with the Dal with respect to the Jagatsingpur seat and with the DMK on the Nagapattinam and Pollachi (SC) seats in Tamil Nadu. The party would also fight two seats each in Manipur, Meghalaya and Goa and four seats in Punjab.

In explanation of its opposition to the Congress(I), the CPI cited the Government's pursuit of wrong economic policies, the direct distress and hardship which had been caused not to talk of the mounting internal and external debt, and the harm which had been done to the interests of the poor, the peasantry and the working class.

CPI-M Manifesto

46001113 Madras THE HINDU
in English 26 Oct 89 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 25—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Mhas called upon the electorate to note that the coming election has a dual character—the defeat of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress(I) on the one hand, and the isolation of communal forces, on the other.

In its election manifesto released here today, the party charged that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's was a "Government of national disintegration and disunity." Along with this, the united stand and understanding between the Left and the secular Opposition like the National Front to isolate the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] would "ensure the defeat and the rout of the Congress(I) and at the same time protect national unity."

Terming the five years of Congress(I) rule as "full of betrayal of hopes, of the interests of the nation" the manifesto says these were also years of growing national disintegration and growing incapacity to check it. They also saw the emergence of authoritarian rule and the nation's economy depending on western imperialist aid with the attendant dangers. There was "widespread corruption in the administration, touching the highest echelons of the Government including Prime Minister, corruption in connection with vital defence deals."

Punjab issue: The CPI(M) manifesto also attacks the Government's handling of the Punjab crisis which "remains uncontrolled with innocent people paying with their lives." Every day a new blow was being struck to national unity by the "foreign financed Khalistanis."

The Punjab situation could have been resolved if the Government had not "gone back on the Rajiv-Longowal Accord." The CPI(M) has charged the ruling party with betraying national interests sacking the Barnala Government to win the Haryana elections. It has termed the Congress(I) role in Punjab as nothing less than "cowardly."

The secessionist threat has since extended to Kashmir where the "separatist elements raise the Pakistani flag at

their will... and the Government looks on." The situation in the North-East too was full of danger with the Research and Analysis Wing being used to incite the Bodo agitation.

Referring to the Ayodhya row, the CPI(M) accused the Government of "playing the role of a cheering spectator" while the BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Sanjay Manch-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine with "spreading the most vicious anti-Muslim poison."

The betrayal of self-interest by the Congress(I) also characterised the Ayodhya row. In an effort to cash in on Hindu sentiment, the Congress(I) "betrays the people and allows the communal challenge to spread."

In this context, the CPI(M) has expressed deep sympathy with the minority Muslim masses who were the "worst victims of communal fanaticism and government oppression during the riots." The party had always stood for the protection of minority rights and "full freedom of conscience and equality of opportunity." The protection of minority rights was the "acid test of democracy."

Discrimination: The CPI(M) has also demanded an immediate end to discrimination against Left Front Ministries and other non-Congress(I) Governments. In the past five years there had been a growing erosion of the federal character of the Constitution. The manifesto calls for a greater transfer of powers to the States, and an end to all arbitrary Central intervention through Governments.

Characterising the corruption scandals of the Rajiv period as being unprecedented, the manifesto says, "any person with the faintest attachment to parliamentary norms would have resigned." It has accused the Congress(I) MP [Member of Parliament]s of acting as sycophantic retainers of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and betraying "national interest for the sake of personal interest."

In calling upon the electorate to vote for the Left and secular forces, the CPI(M) has commended the National Front—Janata Dal combination to the people. It has also referred to the work of the two State Ministries headed by the CPI(M) pointed out that they had an outstanding record in upholding the democratic rights of the individuals. Despite limited resources they had also introduced unemployment relief and pension for agricultural workers, among others. These Governments had also intervened decisively to protect national unity and "defeat the forces of communalism and disunity." Considering the issues involved the section of foreign policy is not detailed. The manifesto calls for strengthening non-alignment. However, it charges the "US imperialists" with attempting to bring India to their sphere of influence by utilising the country's large foreign borrowings, continuing internal strifes and by "financing anti-national elements" it has charged the Rajiv Gandhi Government with refusing to "pin down the US as the main abettor of the Khalistani disruptors because of its dependence on World Bank loans." But India's policy of

nonalignment aided by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had saved the nation from being drawn into the US camp, the manifesto says.

Demands: The 16-point demands list in the manifesto calls for defeat with the Congress(I) and the ouster of the Rajiv Government, fighting authoritarian forces with-drawing repressive legislation like NSA [National Security Act] and ESMA [Essential Services Maintenance Act]. It also calls for restructuring Centre-State relations with more powers to the States.

On the economic front, the manifesto calls for a reversal of the Rajiv Government's economic policy and independence of the economy. It has called for immediate nationalisation of jute and cotton textile industries as well as the take over of other sick and closed concerns. Further urgent steps ought to be taken to check the growth of monopolies and penetration of multinationals. Steps were also needed to curb high prices and high taxation on the common people.

Calling the implementation of land reforms and cancellation of debts of impoverished rural masses along with payment of remunerative prices for farm produce, the manifesto has also demanded measures to promote employment apart from legislation to provide unemployment benefits.

Greatest damage: Releasing the manifesto, the CPI(M) General Secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, told newsmen that the party's election campaign would stress the urgent need to defend national unity which has suffered the "greatest damage" in the five year rule of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. As of now there was no wave for or against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. As such there was an element of uncertainty with regard to the poll outcome.

For the present situation, where a grave threat had arisen to national unity following the Ayodhya row, the basic responsibility lay with the Congress(I), he said. The Congress(I) State Government had banned a rally against the "Ayodhya march" called by the CPI(M) and CPI in Lucknow even while not taking any action against the Ram Shila rallies.

RSS Stand Told

46001113 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 6 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 5—The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which now controls the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]'s ideological and electoral thinking, is fully backing the BJP. Devi Lal combine as the best possible alternative in the event of the ouster of the Congress(I) government from the Centre in the forthcoming general elections.

Even as some BJP leaders privately denied reports that the party leadership was chalking out a strategy to back Mr Devi Lal as Prime Minister and accused newsmen of "kiteflying," the RSS mouthpiece, *ORGANISER*, has editorially supported such a move.

In an editorial entitled "The Rallying Point" which appears in the latest issue of *ORGANISER*, the RSS has said, "The size and spontaneity of Chaudhury Devi Lal's birthday rally at the Boat Club last Monday and the presence of a galaxy of top Opposition leaders who virtually committed themselves for one-against-one fight in the coming Lok Sabha elections has established once more that the Jat head is the most powerful rallying point in the non-communist Opposition."

It further said, "It also made it clear that his populist clout has increased since he led the Lok Dal-BJP alliance to victory in Haryana in June 1987, and that he is all set to repeat the feat at a national level by forging a formidable alternative to the corrupt and dictatorial Congress(I) with singleminded devotion."

The editorial asserted that Mr Devi Lal should be given the total credit for the formation of the Janata Dal and without his backing, Mr V.P. Singh could not have won the Allahabad elections. It also attacked the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] for trying to sabotage a national alliance but felt that Mr V.P. Singh, because of the pressure from Mr Devi Lal and Mr N.T. Rama Rao, was now convinced that the BJP was indispensable.

It then stated, "While the greater credit for a realistic assessment in this respect also goes no less to Chaudhury Devi Lal, it was only recognition of the patent fact that however one may laud the emergence of the Janata Dal as a nucleus of Opposition forces, it remains an unintegrated platform with inbuilt contradictions and personality clashes."

Making it clear that the BJP's organisational strength was crucial for the stability of an Opposition alternative, it said "only a strong hand can hold it (Janata Dal) together. But along with that it needs the support of strong outside prop to save it from crashing both before and after the elections."

The editorial then categorically stated, "And with the CPI(M) confined to the peripheries, only a refurbished, resurgent BJP can provide the spinal strength for it. No one seems to realise it more than Devi Lal who though leading a coalition only in Haryana has the feel of a wide contiguous area."

Advani as home minister. RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] circles are so confident of a BJP-Janata Dal coalition at the Centre that persons close to them have also started writing about the possible portfolios that should be taken by the BJP. In the same issue of the *ORGANISER*, well-known columnist Jay Dubashi has said the BJP president, Mr. L.K. Advani, would make an ideal home minister.

After praising Mr Advani for taking the BJP out of the dumps, he said, "Advani is that rare thing in politics, a cool and rational man who seems to have strayed into politics from the groves of academy or the high tables of

the judiciary. In an Opposition government, he will be an ideal home minister, for even Congressmen will trust him."

He went on, "And he will be a tough home minister, in the Sardar Patel mould, a man who brooks no nonsense but is at the same time a reasonable man who is prepared to listen to anyone before he takes his decision. I get a feeling that India is waiting for just such a home minister and for a government that will have men like Advani as senior ministers."

Call to Hindus

46001113 Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 25 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] Ahmedabad, Oct. 24—The Vishwa Hindu Parishad yesterday plunged into electioneering with a call to the Hindu community to vote as Hindus and elect a Parliament that respects Hindu sentiment.

The call was given by the Parishad's general secretary, Mr Ashok Singhal, at a public meeting which marked the sending-off of the first consignment of Ram Shilas destined for Ayodhya. Gujarat is the first State to send the bricks with "Sri Ram" etched on them.

Mr Singhal said that political parties and issues were of no consequence in this election. The only criterion for voters to elect their representatives was whether they would support the Hindu cause after joining Parliament.

The Parishad, which had hitherto concentrated on the Ram Janambhoomi movement, made it clear that it would play an important role in the actual election process and try to determine the tilt of the Hindu vote.

Mr Singhal criticized the Congress(I) and the Janata Dal for trying to persuade the Parishad to abandon its programme for laying the foundation of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya. He, however, did not mention the Bharatiya Janata Party throughout his hour-long speech.

"Hindu shakti" was very much on show as hundreds of VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] volunteers arrived at the meeting wielding swords, despite a ban by the Ahmedabad police on the carrying of weapons. However, there was no untoward incidents as feared by the State Government, following communal riots, including the one in Godhra on Sunday in which four persons were killed.

Seated on the dias were leaders of various Hindu sects, including Jain monks. The Jaim Muni, Bhanuchandra Vijayji, announced that Jains were Hindus first and Jain Acharyas wanted the building of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya.

Mr Singhal said that nothing could stop the foundation-laying ceremony at the Ram Janambhoomi site on November 9. He added that there was a perceptible change in the Governments' attitude and the foundation ceremony may be allowed to proceed without any hindrance.

Mr Singhal said that if the ceremony was not allowed, Hindu leaders would launch a peaceful satyagraha. He said that it was now time for the Hindus to rise and bring about a "Hindu rashtra."

Though he did not mention the party by name, he made it clear that the VHP wanted Hindus to cast their lot with the BJP in the next election. He said that the Congress(I) could not be relied upon as not a single Congress(I) M.P. had spoken in favour of the Ram Janambhoomi movement.

He said that barring one member, no one had supported the Ram Janambhoomi movement in Parliament. The Hindus could not have regard for such a Parliament. "I told Mr Buta Singh that we had respect for the opinions of our sants and sadhus and not much for a Parliament that disregarded Hindu sentiment," he added.

Forward Bloc Manifesto

46001113 Madras THE HINDU
in English 24 Oct 89 p 10

[Text] Calcutta, Oct. 23—Mr. Chitta Basu, general secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, has said his party will support the National Front in the coming Lok Sabha poll even if the Front entered into an electoral understanding with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party].

Addressing a press conference after releasing his party's poll manifesto here, he said, "In the prevailing political situation our main task is to defeat the Congress(I) and ensure the victory of the National Front which is the only alternative to the Congress(I)."

He said the left parties had always described the BJP as a "communal party and politically we had advised the National Front not to have any understanding with the BJP," but even if the Front decides to have such an adjustment "we cannot dissociate ourselves from the Front."

The Forward Bloc general secretary said his party would contest the coming poll in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and some talks were already held regarding seat adjustment with the DMK and other like-minded parties.

Mr. Nirmal Bose, the party leader and West Bengal Food Minister, would leave for Tamil Nadu to talk to the DMK [Dravidian Progressive Foundation] chief and Chief Minister, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, while some other leaders of the party would go to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] Pin this regard. The Forward Bloc would also contest some Assembly seats in U.P., he said.

He, however, declined to say how many Lok Sabha seats his party was contemplating to contest in the four States.

Manifesto: In its poll manifesto, the party has laid stress on five major issues, which include national unity, corruption in high places, present economic situation and the deteriorating Centre-State relations.

It said all left, democratic and secular parties should join hands with the National Front to dethrone the Congress(I) in the Lok Sabha election and install a clean and efficient Government backed by the left parties.

The manifesto said: "Our nominees elected to the Lok Sabha would work steadfastly to implement the programme and take effective steps to eradicate corruption from public life and also take appropriate action against those proved guilty after proper investigation into the Bofors gun, German submarine and fodder scandal."

The manifesto also said the party would put pressure on the new Government to amend the Constitution to give more powers to States and demand implementation of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission for the benefit of the States.

It said efforts would be made to make Doordarshan and AIR [All India Radio] independent and autonomous bodies.—PTI

Probable Effects of Election on Economy Told

46001093 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 28 Oct 89 pp 1, 17

[Article by D. G. Gupte: "Poll Result Will Influence Economy"]

[Text] Bombay, Oct. 27—On the eve of the new Samvat year 2046, the prospects of the Indian economy can be considered good, yet the business community would like to await the outcome of next month's election before formulating long-term plans.

The Eighth Five-Year Plan is in the final stages of preparation. However, the election results would determine the final content as also the speed of implementation of the plan projects.

Growth prospects for 1989-90 seem encouraging, with a real gross domestic product (GDP) growth of over five percent over the ten percent rise in 1988-89. The favourable monsoon in most parts of the country is expected to boost the economy. However, the trends in industrial output have been disturbing.

While exports have been satisfactory, the balance of payments position continues to cause concern. The continuing structural imbalances both in the Central and state budgets will need attention. The elections may exert pressure on the budgetary position.

In moderating the deficit, it is essential to eliminate the rapidly-rising Central revenue deficit.

Price Situation

The price situation will also have to be watched. After a moderate increase in the wholesale prices during 1988-89, the spiral has begun again. Last year, even after a bumper crop, the situation remained inflationary. The nine-percent rise in the consumer price index in 1988-89 has persisted this year.

Prices of some essential commodities like foodgrains, edible oils and sugar have risen faster this year. The spurt in the retail prices of many daily necessities has been hurting the middle- and low-income groups.

Despite several measures to check monetary expansion, the growth of liquidity has been disproportionate, largely due to fiscal pressures. The net bank credit to the government has doubled from Rs 48,950 crores in March 1985 to Rs 96,867 crores and the net RBI [Reserve Bank of India] credit to the government from Rs 29,374 crores to Rs 60,118 crores during the same period.

As a result of the monetisation of the fiscal deficit, the growth in reserve money during the period has been higher at 18.6 percent per annum and that in money supply at 17 percent per annum.

RBI's Credit Policy

The Reserve Bank of India has recently announced a restrictive credit policy for the ensuing busy season (November 1989 to April 1990). However, there are limits for the RBI's credit policy. What is needed is to control the RBI credit to government, which is not within its powers.

Instead, the bank has chosen to squeeze non-food credit, which is being resented by the bank clientele.

Strong economic fundamentals coupled with a better performance by the private sector have led to considerable buoyancy in the capital market.

Significantly, larger fresh capital issues, including new issues, have evoked enthusiastic public response.

The mega capital issues floated by large companies in the recent weeks are being looked upon with mixed feelings by investors. There are apprehensions that they have not been adequately scrutinised by financial institutions. This needs to be carefully looked into by stock exchanges, the department of company affairs and the company law board in the larger interest of investors.

It is also necessary to keep a watch on the deployment of funds raised through such mega issues. The guidelines with regard to premium at which shares will be issued on conversion of the convertible debentures also need to be modified, if necessary, keeping in view the uncertainties and the large difference between the size and dimension of old and new projects.

A new chapter can be opened in the capital market, if companies making mega issues pay heed to their obligations to investors by right disclosures coupled with right conduct.

The Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) should be given enough regulatory powers in this regard. Such regulatory bodies have been playing a very useful role for the orderly functioning of the capital market and protection of investors in many developed countries.

Since the Indian capital market has broadened considerably in the past few years, it is essential to ensure an orderly growth of the market and provide adequate protection to the investors.

Secondary Market

In the secondary market, prominent shares showed wide fluctuation last year, but over the Samvat year 2045, the all-India ECONOMIC TIMES share price index recorded a net rise of 10.4 percent and the Bombay regional index, 10.6 percent. BSE's sensitive share price index has shown a net gain of only five percent, while the BSE's national index, 11.1 percent.

In recent weeks, some company managements have tried to maintain the prices of the existing shares of their companies at high levels. However, bear operators seem to have been successful in taking advantage of the situation and pressing sales.

Individual investors have shown a tendency in the recent past to liquidate a part of their existing holdings to subscribe to new issues, which are considered more attractive.

The trend in the share market in the coming months will be influenced largely by political developments. There will be a period of fluctuating fortunes because of which the tussle between bears and bulls will intensify. Institutional investors like the Unit Trust of India, the Life Insurance Corporation and the General Insurance Corporation are expected to lend support to the market.

Thus, prices of shares, which attract institutional support, can be expected to remain steady.

Liberalisation

Share market circles feel that if the ruling party returns to power at the Centre, the process of liberalisation started a few years ago would be accelerated, which in turn, would help the market immensely.

If the election leads to political uncertainty in the country, it might affect the economic environment and might arrest the process of liberalisation.

The business community always wants stable economic policies, for which political stability is important. Foreign investors, who have already invested in India and who are proposing to make large investments, would naturally hope for a stable government in the country.

After the election, the new government will have to formulate its economic policies in general and the fiscal policies in particular. Thus, speculation will continue in the share market about the form of the next Union budget.

For helping the technocrat-entrepreneurs, issue houses on the lines of some western countries can be set up. These can place the capital issues of small or medium projects on the market at a specified price after the

company enters the dividend list. Mutual funds and venture capital funds can also play an important role in developing the capital market on sound lines.

With the rising number of investors, there is a need to improve the market structure as well as the systems, procedures and technology to render prompt and efficient services to the investors. For this, mechanisation and computerisation of stock exchange operations will have to be accelerated. The regulatory mechanism of the stock exchange governing boards would need to be tightened.

Any government that will come to power cannot afford to reverse the policies of liberalisation initiated by the present government. Bold economic policies could be pursued by the present government, since it had absolute majority, and within the government there was absolute control over the bureaucratic machinery, with the decision making being vested at the top.

If the new government does not get an absolute majority, to that extent it may become less powerful or successful in maintaining or taking more radical policies. For example, it might be difficult for a weak government to take bold steps to reduce the government expenditure needed for containing inflation through reduction in budget deficit or to raise additional resources.

Foodgrains Output

Foodgrain production in 1989-90 is expected to be at 177 million tonnes against 172.2 million tonnes in 1988-89 and 137 million tonnes in 1987-88. The production of oilseeds is estimated at 16.5 million tonnes in 1989-90 against 15.7 million tonnes in 1988-89 and 11.8 million tonnes in 1987-88. Imports of edible oils, which had come down from 1.97 million tonnes valued at Rs 948 crores in 1987-88 to 1.1 million tonnes valued at Rs 769 crores in 1988-89, are expected to decline further to half a million tonnes in 1989-90.

Cotton production during the current season (September 1989 to August 1990), is estimated at 11.5 million bales of 170 kg against 10.6 million bales in 1988-89 season and 9 million bales in 1987-88 season. Higher exports of cotton are expected in the current season.

As far as sugar is concerned, the production during the 1989-90 season (October 1989 to September 1990) is placed at 10 million tonnes against the original estimate of 10.4 million tonnes and actual production of 8.8 million tonnes in 1988-89 and 9.1 million tonnes in 1987-88.

The downward revision in the estimate for sugar production coupled with liberal monthly releases by the government led to a big spurt in sugar prices towards the end of the 1988-89 season, which has continued in the current season so far.

Imports of 2.50 lakh tonnes of sugar were arranged in August and further contracts are under negotiation. This

would indicate the need for skilful handling of monthly sugar releases and creation of an adequate buffer stock by arranging timely imports when the conditions in the international markets are favourable.

Last year, the country had to pay a heavy price for sugar imports since the decision was taken in an inappropriate time.

Industrial Output

The growth in overall industrial production, which showed a smart recovery from 7.3 percent in 1987-88 to 8.8 percent in 1988-89, has slowed down significantly in the current year so far. This is a disturbing trend.

Recent changes in the industrial policy have sought to promote greater competition by relaxing licensing constraints on entry, growth by capacity re-endorsement, flexibility to respond to changing demand conditions by broadbanding and cost efficiency by prescribing minimum scales of production in several industries.

Liberalisation in trade policy in recent years made the imports of capital goods, components and raw materials easier, which injected an element of competition, besides facilitating upgradation of technology. The transition from a protected environment to a more competitive situation has not always been easy for the Indian industry.

In the ensuing year, the process is expected to continue. In view of the difficult balance of payments position, some restrictions on imports can be expected, and the policy of export-linked imports might be intensified.

Demand for Funds

Looking to the demand for funds from industry received by the financial institutions, it is felt that the government should not be unduly concerned, since the slowing down of industrial production in recent months seems a temporary phase. The government should ensure that the axe does not fall on those industries which are adjusting themselves to the changing circumstances.

Moreover, for providing a thrust to the economy and for attracting larger foreign investment, some irksome legal provisions will have to be done away with and bureaucratic procedures streamlined further. Industry on its part will have to pay greater attention to increase exports on a long-term basis. For this, rationalisation of production might be needed. It might be worthwhile for the authorities to undertake an in-depth study and identify certain segments for intensive export efforts on a long-term basis. Capital goods imports should be used predominantly for improving productivity.

Resource Mobilisation

In the context of the overall resource constraints, large companies will have to tap the capital market to meet their financial requirements. In view of the growing levels of borrowings by public sector undertakings

[PSU], investments in these must yield adequate return. For achieving this objective, the PSU's will have to improve their efficiency. A part of the shareholding of at least profitable public sector undertakings could be offered to the public. Such an experiment has paid good dividends in the U.K.

There is scope for increasing the savings rate in the country. For raising the savings ratio, the major effort has to be directed towards raising the savings rate of the public sector.

The new government after the elections will thus have to provide a definite thrust to the economy by evolving pragmatic policies and taking into account the disturbing trends in certain segments of the economy.

CPI-M Paper Decries Inactivity Against Communalism

46001107 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 7 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 6—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has strongly criticised both the government and the secular Opposition parties for not actively countering the communal poison being spread by the "evil trinity" of the BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad], and called upon the Left mass organisations to unleash the people's initiative to stem the communal tide.

In a strongly-worded, lengthy editorial in the latest issue of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, the CPI(M) said the recent riots in various parts of the country were the result of the fanatic propaganda carried on in recent months, "and to counter which neither the government nor the secular Opposition parties took any steps."

It pointed out that the CPI(M) and the CPI [Communist Party of India] had taken concrete steps to fight the poison being spread over the Ram Janmabhoomi issue, but conceded that the Left alone could not combat these forces. It said, "The secular Opposition forces in the Hindi-speaking area, where their influence among the people is greater, should also have undertaken a campaign against communal incitement. Unfortunately, this was not forthcoming. The government and the democratic forces left the field open to the forces against national unity who were playing the role of a fifth column of the imperialists."

After going into details of the various riots that had taken place, the editorial pointed out that the police and administration was either apathetic or were themselves communal. It then asked, "What is the reality? Is there no remedy except to treat the communal riot only as a law-and-order problem and demand that the government fulfil its duty impartially? to confine only to this is to ignore the new reality and to place a pathetic faith in the Congress(I) and its government."

The editorial further asked, "The question is where are the people, the great mass of the Indian people? Are they with the riot-mongers? Do the latter represent them? What is the experience of riots? Answering these questions, the CPI(M) asserted that the general mass of people were basically secular and against violence, and gave examples to prove this point.

Giving details of how the Left had been actively combating communalism in West Bengal, Kerala and Punjab, the CPI(M) praised the role of its mass organisations, such as the Students' Federation of India, the Democratic Youth Federation of India, CITU [Center of Indian Trade Unions], the All-India Kisan Sabha and the All-India Democratic Women's Organisation, as also the role of the CPI mass organisations, in this struggle.

Urging the Opposition to join this struggle, it said, "While the mass organisations must discharge their responsibility to defend the unity of the people under all circumstances, a great responsibility lies on the shoulders of the secular Opposition parties in the Hindi-speaking areas."

Territorial Army Head on Recruitment Plans

46001103 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] The Territorial Army (TA) plans to raise more battalions to preserve and restore ecological balance in the country, according to Maj Gen Jasbir Singh, additional director-general of TA, reports PTI.

He said, three of TA's battalions, now engaged as ecological task force in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, had done an 'excellent' job, planting more than one crore saplings during the last five years.

Briefing reporters about the TA's achievements on the eve of its 41st anniversary, Gen Singh said one battalion of TA is currently assisting the IPKF [Indian Peace-keeping Force] in Sri Lanka.

The Territorial Army won laurels in the 1965 and 1971 wars with Pakistan. It was awarded five Vir Chakras, five Sena Medals, one AVSM and three mentioned-in-despatches.

Gen Singh said the ecological units of the TA, the only one of their kind in the world, are helping to usher in green revolution in the Thar desert in Rajasthan and in afforestation work in the Shivalik hills of Uttar Pradesh.

The other important role of the TA in recent years has been the raising of battalions with the aim of helping in drilling oil wells and maintenance of refineries of Oil and Natural Gas Commission and Indian Oil Corporation.

Maj Gen Singh said the enrolment of volunteers to the TA had declined in recent years as "it does not provide a full time career."

Administrative Reorganization in Haryana

46001111 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 16 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Chandigarh, Oct. 15—The estimated cost of the latest administrative reorganisation in Haryana is Rs 5 crores per district per annum and involves an additional expenditure of Rs 8 crores to Rs 10 crores.

Four new districts, five new subdivisions, seven tehsils and six subtehsils will come into effect from November 1. This will involve the appointment of three new district commissioners as well as several other staff.

Asked whether such expenditure was justified in the state which already suffered from financial liabilities, the irrigation and power minister, Mr Virinder Singh, said since it was a unanimous decision of the state Cabinet the question of whether it was justified or not did not arise. The deputy chief minister, Mr B.D. Gupta, said Haryana may be a small state but development here was on a big scale and hence the need for such reorganisation.

The demands for new districts in Rewari, Kaithal, Panipat and Yamunanagar have been voiced for some time now. Asked whether it was a "political" decision because of the coming elections, a senior Cabinet minister said it was "less for political reasons and more for developmental and administrative reasons."

Haryana now has more than double the seven districts it initially started with. Among the new districts created by Mr Bansi Lal were Bhiwani, his home area, Sonapat, Kurukshetra, and Sirsa, Mr Devi Lal's home district, Mr Devi Lal made Faridabad a district during his earlier stint as chief minister.

The pattern of reorganisation is largely based on the recommendations of the reorganisation committee. The notable facts are that Chautala, Mr Devi Lal's village, will now be a subtehsil as will Morni, the only hill resort in Haryana. Panchkula, on the outskirts of this Union territory, has been made a subdivision. It is a likely capital for Haryana in case Chandigarh goes to Punjab.

As things stand now, Haryana with its area of 44,212 sq km (provisional) and population of 12,922,618 has four divisions, 16 districts, 41 subdivisions, 53 tehsils, 34 subtehsils and 107 blocks.

Annual Plan Document for 1989-90 Released

46001097 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 19 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, Oct 18 (PTI)—The Plan outlay for 1989-90 has been fixed at Rs 57,597.52 crores against the approved outlay of Rs 49,817.84 crores in 1988-89, a step up of 15.62 percent over the previous year's outlay.

The annual plan document of 1989-90, released by the Planning Commission today, said compared to the revised outlay of Rs 49,442.17 crores, the 1989-90 outlay represented an increase of Rs 8,155.35 crores.

The 1989-90 outlay included Rs 34,445.97 crores for the Centre, Rs 22,292.65 crores for the states and Rs 858.90 crores for the Union territories.

With the proposed outlay for 1989-90, 123.43 percent of the Seventh Plan outlay would be incurred at current prices and 98.16 percent at 1984-85 prices. Expenditure of the Centre has exceeded the initial outlay by 8.39 percent.

The Seventh Plan (1989-90) is likely to end with an average growth rate of gross domestic product (GDP) of 5.4-5.5 percent against the targetted rate of 5 percent.

According to the document, the various measures taken by the government during the last three years to increase domestic production in both agriculture and industry and to streamline the management had made two things evident.

First the resilience of the economy in the face of severe weather stress and second the sustained growth performance in the sphere of industry and infrastructure.

The growth performance during 1987-88 had been significantly better than in the earlier drought years of similar intensity. Further, as a result of number of measures, the exports had shown perceptible improvement although the balance of payment still continued to be under strain, it said.

According to the report the agricultural growth had been revised after three bad years. Food production during 1988-89 was expected to be about 172.18 million tonnes.

Likewise, there had been a big spurt in the production of oilseeds and it was reported that about 17.79 million tonnes would be produced in 1988-89 with an increase of about 43.7 percent over the last year.

The document said the strong resurgence in economic growth during 1988-89 had been made possible by the excellent performance of the infrastructure sectors.

The installed refining capacity of the crude was 51.85 million tonnes at the end of 1988-89 against 48.70 million tonnes at the end of 1987-88.

The refinery crude throughput during 1988-89 was 48.80 million tonnes against the actual throughput of 47.74 million tonnes in 1987-88.

The document also noted that the performance in 1988-89 displayed a remarkable recovery of the industrial sector after the slowing down in 1987-88. The 8.8 percent growth rate achieved in 1988-89 was not only higher than 7.3 percent achieved in 1987-88 but marginally higher than the average growth of 8.5 percent during 1988-89.

Achievements of Steel Center Research Noted

46001110 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 18 Oct 89 p 17

[Text] The R&D Centre for Iron & Steel (RDCIS) is the corporate R&D unit of the Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL). To meet the growing technological needs of SAIL, the R&D Centre undertakes research and developmental programmes and engineering activities in a wide range of areas relating to the improvement of performance indices and future growth of the plants under SAIL. Some areas being pursued vigorously are process optimisation, energy conservation, quality upgradation and quality assurance, development of new products, improvement in yield, indigenous technology development, adaptation of advanced technologies and pollution control.

The takeover of Maharashtra Elektros melt Limited (MEL), Chandrapur, by SAIL has provided the R&D Centre an opportunity to conduct pilot scale trials necessary for establishing new technologies. The steel-making and continuous casting facilities available at MEL provide the building block for technology development which is upscaled and transferred to the different steel plants under SAIL.

The year 1988-89 witnessed a significant increase in the number of projects completed: 173 as compared to 108 and 122 during 1986-87 and 1987-88. The implementation of these projects at various steel plants has resulted in substantial technoeconomic gains to the company.

Researchers at the R&D Centre have been striving to improve the quality of input materials through control of their shape and size distribution and characterising materials according to their physical and chemical properties. Groupwise crushing of coal is one such example where coals are classified according to their grindability, size analysis, caking/coking properties, dilation characteristics and petrographic composition.

This technology has been successfully introduced at Bhilai Steel Plant leading to superior performance indices compared to the conventional blend crushing method. The benefits include improvement in M_{10} index by 1.4 points, decrease in coke rate by 1.4 percent and improvement in productivity by 2.1 percent.

An aluminium wire feeding system has been successfully designed and installed at the argon rinsing units of Bhilai Steel Plant. Aluminium wire is fed into the metal in the ladle at a high speed during argon rinsing leading to more uniform distribution and better recovery. Installation of this system in all the argon rinsing stations at BSP has enabled achievement of a consistent level of aluminium in steels and production of special grades of steels such as LPG and EDD.

A sealing system using ceramic fibre has been introduced in the soaking pits at Bokaro Steel Plant and Durgapur Steel Plant. The improved thermal efficiency of this new device has helped reduction in specific fuel consumption

along with higher yield and better product quality. Large scale adoption of this technology is under implementation in SAIL plants.

A semi-dry gunning mass has been developed indigenously using chromite fines, salvaged basic bricks and other chemicals/binders for gunning of vessel lining of BOF converters at Bhilai Steel Plant. The service life of the LD converters has improved and is comparable with that of imported material. The benefit accrued through this technology is import substitution.

The R&D Centre jointly with Rourkela Steel Plant, has successfully developed a special steel for Bharat Heavy Electricals, Tiruchi, to be used for the manufacture of boiler components such as the flue gas system. This steel, specified as ASTM 588-A grade, was being imported till recently. The steel after extensive testing by BHEL was found suitable and is at present being used for the manufacture of louver dampers in power plants.

For the first time in India, normalised microalloyed steel axles have been developed for the Railways. This will gradually phase out the conventional medium carbon axle steels produced through the oil quenching route. The axles have met the stipulated requirements and have been accepted by the Railways. In addition to their superior strength and ductility properties, the benefits include savings in quenching oil consumption, heat-treatment cost, refractory and furnace gas consumption and overall improvement in bloom to axle yield. Efforts are on to produce this grade of steel for the Railways on a regular basis.

A number of special steels—microalloyed steel plates, LPG cylinder grade steel, boiler quality steels and high strength rails—are produced at Bhilai Steel Plant through the LD-Concast route. Development of technologies for producing these steels has helped improve the yield and quality of steel products significantly. Efforts are underway to improve quality and yield by minimising defects and reducing rejection levels. In addition, there are processing technologies for production of API grade linepipe steel and dual phase steel.

A new era has begun in the sphere of Indo-Soviet cooperation following an agreement with the IP Bardin Central Research Institute for Ferrous Metallurgy, Moscow, to carry out collaborative industrial research in areas of mutual interest on an intra-mural funding basis. Six programmes in the areas of continuous casting and product development have been identified and work is on.

The R&D Centre has also begun a collaborative research programme with leading academic institutes in the U.S. under the "Indo-U.S. Cooperative Research Programme on Iron & Steel Technology." Seventeen projects have been identified and approved by the Centre and the National Science Foundation, U.S. The programme covers raw materials, iron making, steel making, net

shaping, steel rolling and product development activities. It commenced in October 1988 and progress has been satisfactory.

Some significant achievements and highlights during the review period 1988-89 are:

RDCIS won the prestigious FICCI award for research in science and technology.

Two RDCIS scientists were honoured with the National Metallurgists' Day award.

A 400 kV Transmission Electron Microscope fully operational.

Air injection and KORF Technology operational in open hearth furnace of IISCO along with phasing out of Bessemer converters.

Two RDCIS scientists awarded the SAIL Gold Medal for 1988.

One scientist of RDCIS awarded the Dr. M. Visvesvaraya Gold Medal for 1988-89.

Fifth Indo-Soviet Bilateral Symposium was organised at RDCIS, Ranchi on October 12-13 1988.

Agency for Petrochemical Development Established

46001106 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Oct 89 p 9

[Text] The Government on Friday set up a Petrochemical Promotion and Development Agency (PPDA) for promotion and development of this industry, reports UNI.

The autonomous body, under the administrative control of the Department of Chemicals and Petrochemicals, will be a Registered Society with its headquarters in the Capital under the Societies Act.

The agency is governed by a Governing Council consisting of 14 members, inclusive of the Chairman, who is the Secretary of Chemicals and Petrochemicals Ministry.

According to an official release, the PPDA would set up three specialised groups each to deal with polymers, fibres and chemicals and delegate powers to them.

Each group would formulate specific task and action plans in their specified areas and would be given budgetary support by the PPDA.

So far as polymers are concerned, the PPDA would interact through concerned group with IPCL [Indian Petrochemicals Corporation Limited], Central Institute of Plastic Engineering Technology and National Committee on Plastic Application in respect of specialised areas of application of plastics in automobiles, teletronics, building and construction and agriculture.

A separate cell would also be set up under PPDA to look into exclusive the need for futuristic application of

petrochemicals in the vital sector like space, marine, submarine, defence and bio-medicine.

For the day to day expenditure of the PPDA, the Government is releasing Rs25 lakh as seed money for a period of three years as plan expenditure.

The main functions will be to the PPDA identify and support the development of basic petrochemicals and their end products in areas relevant to the present and future needs of the economy.

To initiate studies covering the overall materials scene in the country including steel, aluminium, tin, paper, glass, jute and wood to assess basic demand for these materials as linked to planned sectoral growths.

To study the supply and demand positions and suggest how best the national requirement could be met through use of different alternative materials including petrochemicals.

To promote quality consciousness amongst processors and consumer backed by development of appropriate product standards through ISI [Indian Standards Institute], including measures for their use and implementation.

The Governing Council consists of representatives from Department of Chemicals and Petrochemicals, Finance Ministry, Planning Commission, Directorate General of Technical Development, Oil Industrial Development Board, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas and Chairman and Managing Director, IPCL.

Others are one expert each from polymers, synthetic fibres, chemicals, one representative from consumer industry, an economist, an academicians related to petrochemical industry and a nominee of the Chairman.

Oil Exploration Chalked Out in Eighth Plan

46001102 New Delhi *PATRIOT*
in English 11 Oct 89 p 9

[Text] Baroda, Oct 10 (PTI)—The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) has formulated an ambitious exploration and development programme for different basins in the country for the Eighth Five-Year Plan period.

An ONGC spokesman told PTI here today that ONGC aimed to establish a geological reserve of about 1,054 million metric tonnes (MMTs) of oil and 458 billion cubic metres of gas. The annual oil production was expected to increase from 35.7 MMT in the beginning of the Eighth Plan to 46 MMT by the end of the plan. In case of gas the production potential of 58.6 million cubic metres per day at the beginning of the plan was expected to go up to 82.5 million cubic metres per day.

The future programme of the ONGC included deep water exploration drilling in high temperature and high pressure conditions, application of enhanced oil

recovery techniques, production processing and transportation of heavy crude, and gas development and utilisation, he said.

The well-planned exploration strategy adopted by ONGC in the past was paying rich dividends and the Commission had been able to establish a strong reserve base for further exploration, the spokesman said, adding the current geological oil reserves stood at 4,792 MMT and there had been a phenomenal increase in recoverable reserves of the major oilfields.

There had been a 105 times increase in recoverable reserves of the Galeki field in Assam, 25 times of the Bombay High field followed by four times increase of the North Kadi in North Gujarat, he claimed.

Even the established fields like Ankleshwar had shown an increase of 38 percent in their recoverable reserves while the balance recoverable reserves in the country was at 1,233 MMT (66 MMT of oil and 567 MMT of oil equivalent of gas), he said.

The discoveries of natural gas field in Cambay basin and Neelam field in Bombay offshore reinforced the belief that even well explored areas were far from being at matured stage of exploration and could still be expected to yield reserves through intensive exploration, he said.

The spokesman said the discovery of oil and natural gas from the fractured basement had raised the possibility of establishing a large reserve of oil in Bombay High and Panna field.

He disclosed that the Action Plan was being drawn up to cover the resources of various basins into recoverable reserves.

Because of low cost of exploration and improved Exploration Discovery Index (EDI), the ONGC had achieved 1:3 success ratio against the world average of 1:5, he said adding 0.67 U.S. dollar spent by ONGC to find a barrel of oil was the lowest as against world's average cost of 2.10 U.S. dollar.

Nation's Stand on Intellectual Property Rights Told

46001100 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 12 Oct 89 p 12

[Article by Tilottama Tharoor]

[Text] Geneva, Oct. 11—While Indian negotiators at the Uruguay Round of trade talks strive to secure India's interests on the contentious question of Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), the Indian position was vehemently reiterated in another United Nations forum last week. At a meeting of the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIO) the Indian representative insisted that "any exercise on norms and standards of IPR [intellectual property rights] should

strike a rational balance between the protection of IPR and the national development needs and priorities on the other."

That has been the essence of the Indian position at the Uruguay Round as well, in which India has consistently demanded that individual countries should be free to determine the nature and the extent of the protection that they accord to patents and copyrights, and that the economic concerns of developing countries should be taken into consideration in the formulation of standards. The industrialised countries, led by the United States, are, however, seeking to institute a set of uniform IPR measures and to bring under the stringent supervision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), rather than WIPO. The Indian contention that WIPO's jurisdiction is sufficient was also repeated by the Indian representative, Mrs Otima Bordia, secretary of the department of industrial development, when she said "WIPO should continue to be the forum for establishing and administering standards related to Intellectual property rights."

Mrs Bordia emphasised that in spite of its opposition to the inclusion of IPR in the GATT regime, India "firmly believes in adequate and effective protection of IPR." Indian laws provide protection of copyright, computer software, patents, trademarks and industrial design. However, she warned against the "abuse of monopolistic rights" by the owners of patents, insisting that "it should be recognised that patents are not granted merely to enable a patent owner to enjoy a monopoly for the importation of the patented article into the host country or to resort to restrictive and anticompetitive practices." In the Uruguay Round, too, India has appealed for remedial action against such practices by transnational companies. India is also concerned about the kind of monopolistic rights that the large pharmaceutical companies of the United States and Europe are seeking in a new GATT regime.

It is ironic that India voiced such strong support for WIPO, when it has not signed WIPO's major instrument for the protection of intellectual property rights—the Paris Convention. India is at present actively promoting the revision of the Convention to improve its conformity with the requirements of developing countries. Recently, however, India did support the Treaty on Integrated Circuits as well as WIPO's initiatives regarding separate treaty for Trademark Law harmonisation.

Even in its current form the Paris Convention is far more favourable for the interests of developing countries than the GATT regime envisaged by the industrialised countries would be. The Paris Convention permits individuals to exclude certain sectors of their economy from patent protection—especially the key sectors for developing countries of pharmaceuticals, chemicals and food products, India quite independently imposes process patents on these sectors though it excludes them from

product patents. The United States has demanded GATT rules that would ban any kind of exclusion as "trade-distorting."

While India and other developing countries are now trying to sustain the importance of WIPO in the domain of intellectual property protection, it is clear that the United States and its allies are concentrating on GATT and its Uruguay Round to seek their IPR objectives and have in the process marginalised WIPO. Trade analysts agree that the future role of WIPO will depend to a great extent on the result of the Uruguay Round—if the industrialised countries obtain the comprehensive TRIPS regime administered by GATT, WIPO could be further marginalised. Either way, India believes that it is in her interest to actively promote intellectual property rights at WIPO.

Furthermore, under the Special 301 provision India was put on a "watchlist" together with a number of other countries whose protection of Intellectual property rights were found unsatisfactory by the United States. Washington must decide by the end of this year what action to take on the list. India has steadfastly refused to negotiate with the United States under the 301 threat. But, India's involvement in the IPR issues both at WIPO and GATT may be a signal to the United States that India takes the issues seriously and is willing to discuss them multilaterally, while it continues to defend its position and to resist the direction along which the United States wishes to push intellectual property protection.

Foundation Laid for New Air Force Station

46001092 Madras THE HINDU
in English 30 Oct 89 p 3

[Text] Thanjavur, Oct 29—The foundation for the Rs. 30 crore Thanjavur Airforce station, the third in Tamil Nadu, was laid by Air Marshal G. Sen. Air Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command on Friday.

He said Rs. 34 lakhs would be spent in the next five months for improving the runway and provision of certain communication and signal equipment in the Mappilanicienpatti military airport and the military aircraft would begin its work of providing air defence to the region from April next year.

Similar Air Force station would be established in Tiruchi next year at a cost of Rs. 15 crores and three more in the south in the next few years. He hoped that the new station would contribute to the economic and cultural development of the region.

Air Marshal Sen presented a memento to Praveen Kumar, Assistant Collector, Thanjavur.

Brigadier R.N. Rai, Chief Engineer, Military Engineering Service, Cochin said already about 1,400 acres of land had been acquired for the airbase. The entire work of the Air Force station was expected to be completed in four years and Rs. 14 crores had been earmarked for

extending and improving the runway, and putting up a meteorological station and other operational facilities. About Rs. 4 crores would be spent on technical training equipment and another Rs. 12 crores on administrative and other buildings and quarters to house about 100 officers and 1,000 Air Force personnel.—Our Staff Reporter

Ban on overflying: Strict instructions would be given to Air Force personnel to keep away from overflying the Thanjavur Big Temple which had been included in the world heritage list of monuments, the Air Marshal said. He told pressmen that already there was a ban on overflying temples, churches and mosques.

Residents jubilant: The residents of Mappilanaickenpatti situated near Thanjavur Air Force Station were jubilant on Friday when the Air Marshal informed them that their village had been exempted from land acquisition for the station.

IRAN

Reorganization of Ministries Under Study

46000038B Tehran *TEHRAN TIMES*
in English 22 Nov 89 pp 1, 5

[Text] Tehran (IRNA)—The Majlis' Commission on Employment and Administrative Affairs is to survey the opinions of experts on a plan to merge seven ministries and two government organizations into four new ministries.

The proposal calls for merging the ministries of mines and metals, industries, heavy industries, agriculture, oil, construction Jihad and energy, and the Atomic Energy and Environment Protection Organizations.

If approved, the four ministries will be that of 1) Jihad, Rural Development, Irrigation and Agriculture, 2) Natural Resources and Animal Husbandry, 3) Mines and Industries, and 4) Energy.

The duties of the four new ministries are to be drawn up and presented to the Majlis for approval by the cabinet within three months.

Hundreds Allegedly Wounded in South Tehran Demonstrations

45000051 London *AL-DUSTUR* in Arabic
13 Nov 89 p 6

[From "Bayn al-Qawsayn" column]

[Text] Five were killed and more than 200 wounded in huge demonstrations which the southern suburb of the Iranian capital witnessed on 2-3 November against high prices, unemployment, and the widespread corruption in government circles. This resulted from the intervention of the Revolutionary Guard, and the occurrence of clashes among the demonstrators, security men, and the Guard. Information from Tehran discloses that the Hajj

Masha'ollah Kashi, the biggest fruit merchant in the main market and the one who led the demonstrations, was the first victim, and that his death led to a change in the shouts and slogans to a single slogan, "Down With the Bloody Regime."

According to a communique issued by the Society of Friends of Iran supporting the son of the deceased shah, about 12,000 people participated in the demonstration, some of whom were from the monarchy faction, and pictures of Reza Pahlavi and tapes of his voice were distributed during the demonstration.

The society indicated in its communique that the security men were not able to contain the demonstrations, which led to the utilization of the Guard. About 1,000 of them surrounded the square in which the demonstrations were being held.

It is said that Rafsanjani sent Mohsen Rafiqdust, former minister of the Revolutionary Guard and head of the Organization of the Oppressed who has connections in the vegetable market, to the location of the incident to calm the demonstrators, but that the demonstrators' attacks continued on the second day until midnight.

An Iranian source disclosed that demonstrations by the capital's poor, who live in the southern suburb of Tehran, are the most serious of the challenges faced by the regime since its establishment in 1979.

Pakistan Invited To Participate in Seminar on Drug Campaign

46000038C Tehran *TEHRAN TIMES*
in English 21 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] Islamabad (IRNA)—A high ranking Iranian official Sunday proposed a meeting in Tehran of the three-nation, Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) to sign a tripartite protocol for campaigning against drug trafficking.

The proposal was made by Deputy Interior Minister Mokhtar Kalantari in his meeting with Pakistani Minister of State for Narcotics Muzaffar Shah Sunday.

ECO groups the Islamic Republic with neighboring Turkey and Pakistan.

Kalantari suggested that Pakistan enforce tougher laws including death penalty for drug traffickers, and that the two countries enhance their intelligence cooperation in this regard.

Kalantari, who is part of the delegation led by Interior Minister Hojjatoleslam Abdullah Nouri, invited Pakistani anti-drug officials to participate in an international seminar on drug campaign due to be held in Tehran in spring.

Muzaffar Shah replied that the Islamabad government was serious in fighting narcotics even outside its territory

and that a special ministry has been established for this purpose since Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto came to office.

He said that Pakistan will decisively prevent the cultivation of opium poppy inside the country and that a new bill was under study, and if approved, the properties of those cultivating opium poppy would be confiscated.

Natural Gas Export to USSR To Begin in March 90

90010021D London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] The Islamic Republic will begin exporting natural gas to the USSR as of Farvardin 1369 [March 1990]. Some time ago, Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, the Islamic Republic's minister of petroleum revealed the news regarding the renewal of export of natural gas to the USSR to the mass media. The aforementioned minister who had gone to Gilan province in order to participate in the inauguration ceremonies for the first oil excavation derrick in the Caspian Sea, told reporters that as of the month of Farvardin next year [March 1990], the export of Iranian natural gas to the USSR will begin by way of the IGAT trunkline to the tune of three billion cubic meters annually. Aqazadeh also announced that the export of Iranian natural gas to the USSR will bring an annual income of about 2 to 2.5 billion dollars into the Islamic Republic's treasury.

In part of his press interview, the minister of petroleum stated: The volume of gas export during the first 2 years to the USSR will be 3 billion cubic meters which will be increased to 6 billion cubic meters during the next 3 years. He further went on to say: The accord for the export of natural gas to the USSR has been reached with a bartering agreement framework.

Increase in Customs Duty for Land, Sea Travelers Reported

90010021E London KEYHAN in Persian 5 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] From now on the travelers who would like to depart Iran by way of land and sea, in addition to the previous duties, will have to pay 50,000 rials more to the Islamic Republic government. Last Sunday colonel Soltani, chief of the passport office announced this news.

Soltani who was speaking at a press interview further added: From now on all of the Iranian nationals who intend to leave the country, in addition to the departure taxes will have to pay 50,000 rials as "land and sea duties."

While Rafsanjani's government is trying somehow by means of higher taxes, duties, and a reduction of expenditures to strike a balance between its receipts and payments, the new "land and sea duties" will create fresh problems, particularly for the low income individuals who intend to leave the country. Tens of thousands of Iranians who annually leave Iran by way of the Turkish borders will be affected by this new customs duty.

'Practical Taxing Policy' To Achieve Social Justice Proposed

46000038A Tehran TEHRAN TIMES
in English 23 Nov 89 p 3

[Article: "Wealth Distribution: A Must to Social Justice"; first paragraph is TEHRAN TIMES introduction]

[Text] At present the large cash flow in the private sector and the latter's refusal to invest it in production centers have caused a huge social gap in the society. Private sector, uncertain about investing in production activities, has channeled its investments to the service and commerce areas and has thus created the deepening gap in the incomes of different social classes. Lack of a precise and careful taxing system is a handicap for the government in supervising a just distribution of wealth in the society.

After the 70's the major economic powers of the world decided to relocate the economic crisis from their own land to the Third World and as a consequence we have witnessed the spread of poverty in the Third World countries and a huge rise in their foreign debt. Statistics regarding the average life expectancy, income per capita, inability to satisfy basic needs like adequate food, housing and clothing, low literacy rate and social awareness, unemployment, inadequate health care system, lack of resources for education, high crime rate among the youth etc., are all indicative of this economic crisis in these countries.

In Iran, eight years of the imposed war forced a severe reduction in our foreign income, absence of a defined program for managing the economy of the country coupled with problems arising from the lack of a clear-cut boundary between private and government sectors and their responsibilities, a useless bureaucracy in the service centers were added attributes to the obvious descent of social standards.

According to the available data and statistics the gross national income has had a descending trend and reached 2,961 billion rials in 1988 from 3,922.3 billion rials in 1977, based on the fixed prices of 1353 (1974). At the current pace this value will reach 2,596 billion rials in 1998 which shows a 1.3 percent reduction. Considering the population growth rate of 3.2 percent, income per capita has dropped from 114,000 rials in 1977 to 55,500 rials in 1988.

Decreasing productivity rate of 4.5 percent annually is indeed a description of the growth of poverty in the coming decade. In the recent years a big chunk of the social productivity has been in the service areas and the share of this segment in our economy is near 50 percent.

The downward trend of capital investment in the country and the continuation of this trend is one of the major problems that has contributed to the supply and demand imbalance. The ratio of investment to the national gross product of the country in 1977 was 27.4 percent. The same figure was 15 percent in 1988. In

addition the index of personal expenses, an important indication of the social comfort, shows a reduction from its 53,000-rials level in 1977 to 34,000 rials in 1988.

At present the large cash flow in the private sector and the latter's refusal to invest it in production centers have caused a huge social gap in the society. Private sector, uncertain about investing in production activities, has channeled its investments to the service and commerce areas and has thus created the deepening gap in the incomes of different social classes. Lack of a precise and careful taxing system is a handicap for the government in supervising a just distribution of wealth in the society.

While the involvement of private sector in the manufacturing activities and creating incentives for them to participate in production projects is an important action, the government should by no means allow this sector to operate totally on its own with no accountability on its means of wealth accumulation.

Obviously a mere verbal encouragement is not enough to get the private sector involved in investment in productive lines. What seems to have an important effect in this regard is legitimization of investment and its security, which means abolishment of bureaucracy obstacles and giving assurances to investors by law. It is only in this way that stagnant resources, cash flow, can start circulation and boost a healthy process in economic recovery.

If the government establishes a clear and practical taxing policy then it will be able to control and guide the wheels of production and create more jobs and improve social living standards.

Altogether, a proper wealth distribution in the society should remain an important and fundamental policy of the government. A quick and short-term solution can, perhaps, improve the status of the impoverished in the society for a short period, but unless the national income increases there is no guarantee that this could continue.

The new policies announced by the government, if pursued continuously, can be fruitful and achieve many of the mentioned objectives. It is hoped that with the cooperation of all those involved, this trend can continue and mass poverty can be overcome to achieve one of the Islamic Republic's goals in establishing social justice.

Bank Markazi Selling Foreign Exchange to Importers

90010040C London KEYHAN in Persian 2 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] Following the joining of the banking system of the Islamic regime with the foreign currency dealers on the black market and the selling of foreign currency at free market prices by the branches of Tejarat Bank, the economic officials of the regime announced that the Islamic Republic's Ministry of Commerce will soon release the new list of goods to be imported without transfer of foreign currency, and the government banks will also place foreign currency without any restrictions

at the disposal of importers and merchants at black market (competitive) prices.

Some time ago, the Tehran newspapers, on a signal from the regime—making use of the propaganda tools at their disposal and hoping that by expanding propaganda they would prevent the continued back-breaking increases in the price of consumer goods—quoting informed officials, wrote: "The government intends to serve the importers and the commercial sector with the strong foreign currency resources at its disposal and, by allocating preferred (competitive) foreign currency to this sector, to take another effective step towards reducing the price of goods in the society."

Simultaneous with the regime's increased propaganda to control prices and prevent the rise in prices of most consumer and essential goods, Borumand, the representative of Moghan in the Majlis, attacking the economic policies of the regime, addressed Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of the Islamic Republic, and said: "In the beginning, when the issue of your election to chief of the executive branch was raised, everyone looked at the problems most happily and hopefully, and those whose backs were bent under the unbearable burden of inflation and high prices and whose lives were and are about to fall apart had their hopes on Your Excellency's problem-solving abilities."

The above representative continued: "The belief has come about in the people that nothing has occurred or will occur after the change in the government. Moreover, the people are becoming certain that high prices, inflation, inadequate employment, and administrative corruption are inevitable."

Quoting an informed economic source in the regime, KEYHAN published in Tehran also wrote some time ago: "The ratification of the regulations on the entry of goods without foreign currency transfer last year caused a reduction of about 40 percent in the price of those goods included."

"In this connection, to date, the Ministry of Commerce has released four lists of goods which applicants have taken steps to import, and soon a fifth list of permissible goods will be released."

On the basis of reports that have been received from Tehran and other cities simultaneous with the above reports from KEYHAN published in Tehran, contrary to the absolutely false claims of the economic officials of the regime, in the past few months, the prices of most items, essential and consumer goods and goods for everyday use have increased at an unacceptable rate. In some areas the prices of most food items and consumer goods have increased more than three-fold compared to the early part of this year (1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989]).

Personal Information on Every Iranian Computerized

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[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Rahmani by the press; date and place not specified]

[Text] The personal information registration agency of the Islamic Republic, implementing a computer plan and creating a base for collecting personal data on all Iranians in Iran and abroad, has collected 300 bits of personal information on every Iranian, which it makes available, along with access codes, to all security organizations, offices, and agencies requiring personal information and data.

The report on the establishment of this personal data collection center, which had leaked abroad here and there over the past few months, was officially discussed with reporters and representatives of the media some time ago by Rahmani, the deputy interior minister and head of the personal information registration agency of the Islamic Republic.

Raising the point that the data collected in the computer memory of the national population information center will cover 300 kinds of information about every Iranian citizen, including both those in Iran and abroad, the head of the personal information registration agency of the Islamic Republic announced that this information will be placed at the disposal of other national organizations needing detailed information about the people's individual lives.

The above-mentioned official told reporters: "In order to achieve a collection that provides essential services for the society, we must have an organization to record the vital events concerning the people throughout the country." He added: "The computer plan and the national population data base has 57 million records to log the vital events of the people in Iran and abroad. Every year, 4 million records will be added to this, and every record includes 300 individual bits of data."

The head of the personal information registration agency of the Islamic Republic announced in his press conference that 10-digit personal identification numbers will be assigned to the documents of persons who were born in the country from up to 120 years ago until the end of 1367 [20 March 1989] and those born from 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] up to 130 years from now. This coding will not need to be changed for a period of 250 years.

Changing All Identification Cards

With regard to changing all of the identification cards, the above-mentioned official told the reporters: "In implementing the identification card plan, so far 28 million Islamic Republic identification cards have been issued to the people in the country, and by the end of 1372 [20 March 1994], all of the identification cards of individuals in Iran and abroad will be changed."

A gentleman connected with security information affairs, who is quite familiar with the mind control tricks and the collection of private data on Iranians by various organizations of the Islamic regime, in regard to the implementation of the plan to create an equipped, computerized data base in the country's personal information registration agency, said that collecting individual data, including 300 kinds of information, and keeping this information in the computer memory will allow this agency to have access to all sorts of data concerning various aspects of the people's private lives, from birth to death, and place them at the disposal of other agencies of the regime, particularly for the purpose of mind control and controlling the people. The above-mentioned expert added: "The announcement that, in the computer memory of the registration agency, 300 kinds of information on individuals are kept indicates that by accessing data and keeping informational records on the lives of every individual in this country, it will be able to be informed about the smallest event or change in the private lives of individuals and use this information to protect the interests of the regime and maintain its political domination and control over the people."

PAKISTAN

Sindh: Government Blamed for 'Dangerous' Situation

90010016A Lahore SIYASI LOG
in Urdu 2-9 Oct 89 p 3

[Report by Abdul Hafiz Abid]

[Text] [Editor's Note] The patriotic people are extremely upset over the storm of bigotry and hatred through which the Pakistan province, Sindh, is passing and the manner in which Mohajirs and Punjabis are being subjected to cruelty and oppression, on account of the incompetence and partisanship of that province's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) government. The following report by Abdul Hafiz Abid, prepared only a short while ago, provides an idea of this critical situation. Even though it contains a special mention of the tragic events of April and thereafter in Hyderabad, it also contains an analysis of the unrest in several other cities. Even then, mention has not been made of the bloody events in several cities, in which many innocent people were killed and, off and on, many a city came under curfew. In particular, for the first time, a curfew has been imposed in Nawabshah.

We are publishing this report with the hope that not only will the public become aware of the PPP's words and deeds, but also that the ruling party and the other political parties will sit together and try to resolve the Sindh problem.

In view of the direction in which the conditions in Sindh province are rapidly moving, it is most imperative that all political forces sit together, prepare a concrete program of action, and work on it with complete responsibility and honesty, so that by taking control of the

frightened horse, the wagon, which is presently rushing toward a deep ditch, may be put on the right course.

Responsibility for reforming the situation falls on the PPP and the Mohajir National Movement which, as a result of a mandate from the people of the province, are present in the assembly in overwhelming force and, under a joint agreement, are also ruling without an actual coalition. In order to retain the people's confidence, it is they who will have to make the initial move in this matter, so that they may move ahead to ensure the security of the people's life, property, and honor and an atmosphere of peace, tranquillity, love, and mutual respect; and, with an open mind and open heart, request the cooperation of all forces, without any distinction, welding political, social, and religious influence in the province. We are sure that if any step is taken in this direction with sincerity, the people of the province and any political, social, and religious party, organization, or group interested in the betterment of its own future, will not allow any mental reservations to stand in the way of cooperation and common action. But, for this, we believe that the ruling party will have to refrain from character assassinating its political opponents, defaming them, and spreading canards like "Conspiracies are continuing. Martial law supporters want to make the PPP government a failure. Those who flourished in the shadow of dictatorship want to destroy democracy. Conspiracies are afoot against popular rule".

Every responsible political worker knows fully well that the people of this province and country have become politically very astute and though, with sound motives, they admittedly make wrong decisions, they cannot be misled by force of propaganda and by concealing facts or by misrepresenting facts. Therefore, the rulers and the ruling party should also correctly assess and recognize the situation, the problems, and their own weaknesses so that obtaining cooperation from other political quarters and proceeding further may become easier.

The rulers need to fully understand that the conditions in the province are deteriorating so rapidly in every respect that if a power is merely interested in checking the rate of this rot, even for that, there is very little time left. If we are to accomplish anything, it has to be done today. There is no time to wait for tomorrow, and, if the time honored practice of procrastination is followed, then that time is not far off when the heaps of medicines will be of no avail to the patient. So much so, that even prayers will not prove efficacious, for prayers are a vehicle for speeding up action, but when there is no action, resorting to prayer alone will not do.

Even a cursory look, resulting in a realization of the gravity, is enough to make the flesh crawl. In the past 3 years, 3,000 persons have been devoured by the fires of hatred raging in the province. The provincial capital and Pakistan's heart, Karachi, has unfortunately turned into a center of unrest and now, in this great city, the merciless massacre of humans does not even become the subject of the major news. Following this, the heart of the

province and the world famous city known for its beautiful evenings, Hyderabad, appears to be becoming a slaughter house. During the last 3 years, its residents have not had a moment of peace or tranquillity. Riots, robberies, and curfews have become a distinguishing feature of the city. No one knows what may befall at any given time. Daily disturbances, riots, and robberies have debased human life so much that the people have been overwhelmed by extreme paralysis. The terrible events of 30 September 1988 passed into history. A month later, the situation was as though nothing had happened. Then came 6 April. Fifteen to sixteen lives were lost to violence.

Matters have not stopped here. Unfortunately, Sakhar, Larkana, and certain other cities have also come under the grip of terrorism. Those going to the rural areas from Hyderabad for business are returning back in coffins. From the interior areas of the province, non-Sindhis are relocating to Hyderabad. Similarly, Sindhi-speaking families are heading from the cities to the rural areas. All of these people are roaming in search of a place where their lives and honor will be safe.

Following the brutality with which 3 members of a mohajir family were murdered in Larkana, where the murderers vanished into thin air, how can anyone assure anybody of their security. In the evening, assassins, armed with advanced weapons, climbed over the house wall and entered into the house. They ordered the widow's four sons to stand in a line, and then showered them with bullets. When the aged mother advanced to save her dear ones, her body was riddled with bullets and she, along with two of her sons, perished. Nothing was removed from this house to indicate that this act was perpetrated by dacoits. Similarly, in Talhare, a bank guard was murdered while on duty. Except for his life, nothing was taken from the bank.

This trend has not ceased. On the contrary, there is a danger that it may spread to the province's cities and towns. Moreover, one cannot ignore the danger of further tragedies happening in Hyderabad. In the light of past experience, the reports of newspaper journalists and secret agencies cannot be ignored.

As far as the day to day conditions are concerned, abduction, robbery, theft, murder, dacoity, and extortion are a common affair in the province's rural areas and towns, and wherever one may live, there is no feeling of security. The trafficking and use of advanced arms goes on in complete freedom. So much so that, even in educational institutions, arms are available in abundance, and their use and the shedding of the blood of youths has become a common practice.

If you look at the every day conditions, the economy of Hyderabad and the entire province is in ruins. Industries have begun to relocate.

Capitalization has come to a halt. Trade has been seriously hit. The people are afraid of investing money in

business. Similarly, buyers, especially from the rural areas, are terrified of visiting the cities.

Look at the educational institutions. They remain closed for months on end. Parents are worried about the safety of their children all the time. Linguistic bigotry and hatred have converted schools into places of hate, and in this context, someone or the other gets killed every day.

This is the overall picture of the province. It is possible that even behind this picture the politicians may see some kind of conspiracy brewing, but this is how the common man feels. This is because without recognizing the facts of the situation and accepting the reality, one cannot make progress. If we examine whether or not the rulers are in touch with the conditions and whether or not they accept the reality, things do not look promising.

Even though the rulers and the leading lights of the opposition have repeatedly stated that our foreign enemies and their agents, the saboteurs, are fully responsible for the conditions in the province, nevertheless, it is also a well-known fact that the linguistic, regional, and sectional organizations have played a very fundamental role in facilitating the work of the enemies of Pakistan and Sindh, and they have bene involved, wittingly or unwittingly, in the conditions occurring here during the last few years. One common remark may be made in this respect—that the role of all linguistic organizations has been harmful and, in one way or the other, they are responsible for the worsening of the conditions. Therefore, no responsible political party with a national thinking will make the mistake of patronizing the linguistic organizations.

If we examine the situation from this point of view, the role of the ruling PPP appears to be very discouraging, especially in the course of the Sindh assembly session during the 6 April Hyderabad events. The manner in which a majority of the PPP members indulged in an open orgy of bigotry, in utter disregard for the status of the honorable house and the best known forum of national unity, deserves maximum condemnation. Our understanding is that they did all of this out of political expediency, in order to appease the Sindhi extremists. Nevertheless, this was a low and deplorable act, as a result of which the prestige of Islamic society as well as the nation's prestige have been seriously hurt, and, now, if something like this is done at any forum, it will be futile to express amazement.

Moving further in this direction, the conditions are such that when the separatist Jiye Sindh Student Federation organized a protest day against the 6 April events in Hyderabad, special instructions were issued to the television authorities on behalf of the federal government urging wide coverage of the protest programs. The PPP's Ministry of Information, the symbol of the federation, issued special instructions to the television authorities urging that the reaction against the Hyderabad events be covered to the fullest extent. And then millions of television viewers noticed that the Jiye Sindh protest

meeting, held in Hyderabad, was shown from several points even though the number of participants in this, including young boys and children, ranged from 60 to 70. The people were amazed that the television, which never appears to notice the political meetings attended by thousands of people and the masses, was covering so generously an extremist organization like Jiye Sindh and the "mini-meetings" of its supporters. But an even more interesting point is that the television's sensitive eye could not see what the PPP, Jiye Sindh, the Sindh National Alliance, and the Rasul Bakhsh group, in unison, did in New Syedabad. Even though Gharhala, the native town of PPP senior deputy chairman Makhdoom Mohammed Zaman Talib Almoli and his son and federal minister Makhdoom Amin Fahim, is also in the grip of repercussions from linguistic prejudice. But the manner in which the Jiye Sindh workers fired firearms, robbed, and torched dozens of shops—a few houses were also engulfed in fire—burned farm houses, abducted cattle, injured citizens, in an effort to spread terrorism in the nearby town of New Syedabad, under the cover of strike and protest demonstration, should be enough to open the eyes of the ordinary workers of the pro-federal parties also.

From this attitude of the PPP, it is clear that, in order to defeat its rival political parties, it is prepared to join hands with every linguistic, sectional, and extremist organization, regardless of how damaging it may prove to the country, nation, and the province. Moreover, it is clear that the ruling party is more concerned with its policies than with the life, property, honor, and dignity of the people. If it is particularly interested in establishing a rule of law, it is only confirmed to its political rivals, otherwise one does not sense the existence of laws against the separatists, terrorists, murderers, dacoits, robbers, smugglers, and their patrons. The Sindh chief minister, believing in democratic liberties and the rule of law, can surely order the arrest of the DAWN correspondent at Thattha for the misprinting of a news headline. But against a patharedar [hooligans] or drug dealer, he remains silent because it affects the allowances of his advisors and officials.

Proceeding ahead, one notices that the power struggle within the Sindh Peoples Party has reached its zenith and, in it, even low tactics are not being spared. It is difficult to expect, from a party whose workers can resort to such base tactics toward their provincial president and chief minister, good treatment toward its rivals.

What happened during Chief Minister Syed Qaim Ali Shah's Badeen tour is highly deplorable. Because they were prevented from entering a high level meeting proceeding under the chief minister's chairmanship, the workers of the Sindh People's Students Federation [SPAF] broke the head of a Station House Officer [SHO]. During his tenure in Hyderabad, this SHO was well known for his patronage of extremists, but, unfortunately, he himself became their victim and he had to get four stitches in his head. The disgruntled faction of SPAF gave the chief minister a dressing down. In the

meantime, when the federal minister for industry, Syed Ali Nawaz Shah, tried to smooth over matters, he too was nearly hit. He replied in the same coin. However, the situation was brought under control with the intervention of officers from the administration and the police, otherwise the police had their rifles ready. Along with the SP's [Superintendent of Police] uniform, the dignity of the chief minister and the minister of industry was in shreds. Reports claim that Ali Nawaz Shah issued instructions for filing of a case against the ill-mannered youth, but the chief minister showed coolness and patience and the matter was hushed up. However, following these developments no meeting could be arranged. Prior to this, in Khairpur also, Syed Qaim Ali Shah had been the victim of a similar emotional attack. The PPP sources believe that, behind these activities, lie the hand of an influential group of the party, which is not satisfied even after obtaining several ministerial posts and which wants to grab the post of chief minister Sindh. It remains to be seen how long Syed Qaim Ali Shah can keep up his courage. The impression is that he is unhappy with the situation and while expressing his frustration to his close associates, during his tour of Thattha, Badeen, and Mirpur Khas, he has held discussions with them, but did not indicate at what stage he will surrender. Meanwhile, the situation remains highly deplorable. Leg pulling in a party, which claims to have made sacrifices for 11 years so that democracy could be restored and a popular government established, can prove dangerous for democracy, the province, and the country.

From another point of view, the attitude of the province's ruling party is regrettable. The party that reached the assembly in an overwhelming majority on the strength of its slogan of rights of the people, what is that party doing for the people. Perhaps only the chief minister and the party's provincial president can give an

answer. If anyone is getting anything, it is the members of the assembly, the top guns of the party, and those with impressive testimonials. These people are receiving top posts and benefits as well. In the federal government, the daughter is the prime minister; her mother is a senior federal minister and party chairman; and the father-in-law is the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee; and the prime minister's husband, an uncrowned king who, after a fight with his wife, can get the appointment of Abdul Karim Lodhi as chief secretary of Sindh cancelled, because while Lodhi was around, it was impossible for his writ to run. Similar is the condition in the province. One brother is federal minister for industry; another brother, who in the past had been picking up the tab for all the expenses at 70 Clifton, is the managing director of Pakistan International Airlines. In another family, one brother is federal minister, another brother is provincial minister and at the same time has also been awarded chairmanship of SASO [expansion unknown]. Thus, nepotism is running rampant. Completely oblivious to the seriousness of the conditions, "those who gave sacrifices" are scrambling to obtain compensation.

When we consider this background, we learn that the PPP does not have a correct view of the seriousness of the situation in the province or that, instead of learning all of this or trying to find a solution to it, it merely wants to mark time. This thinking is in no way in the interest of the province and its people. Indeed, it is a criminal act. It is our strong request to the PPP leadership and the leadership of all other notable political and religious organizations that they should realize the gravity of the situation and, by meeting together, work out a mutually agreed program of action so that a way may be found out of the raging fires of extremism and hatred. This is a must for the survival of the PPP itself and the other national political parties, and for the future of the province.